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## ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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I.—AUTHENTIC NOTICES RESPECTING THE AGRICULTURE OF ST. DOMINGO OR HAYTI, AND ITS LAWS RELATIVE TO CULTIVATION, SINCE 1793.—  
 1. *Code Rural of 1794*; 2. *Code Rural of 1798*; 3. *Constitution of 1801*; 4. *State of Agriculture, 1794—1802, and the effects of Buonaparte's attempt to restore Slavery in 1802*; 5. *Code Rural of 1826*; 6. *Recent Communications from Hayti on the state of Agriculture in 1830*; 7. *Concluding Remarks*.

II.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I.—AUTHENTIC NOTICES RESPECTING HAYTI.

IN the Reporter, No. 70, we entered into an examination of the safety as it respected the public peace, and of the benefit to the Colonial slaves, of an emancipation legally effected by the supreme authority of the State; and we proved, as we think, satisfactorily, that such an emancipation might be effected both safely and beneficially. In the endeavour to establish this point, we gave a brief historical view of the circumstances which had led to the emancipation of the slaves in Hayti, and of the effects which had followed that event, (Reporter, No. 70, pp. 465—473,) and we promised on a future occasion to lay before our readers some farther details on this important subject. We now proceed to fulfil that promise, and in detailing, in the first place, the means resorted to for obtaining agricultural labour from the emancipated slaves, we shall confine ourselves, for the present, chiefly to the official documents furnished to us by Mr. Consul General Mackenzie, in his Report printed by the House of Commons, on the 17th February 1829, and numbered 18. The earliest in point of date, of these documents, is a code of regulations issued by the Commissioner of the National Convention, Polverel, soon after the decree passed for the total and universal emancipation of the slaves in that island had been proclaimed. This code which bears date the 28th February 1794, will be found in the Report of Mr. Mackenzie, p. 111—127. The introduction to it we shall insert entire. But of the regulations we shall merely give an abstract, the correctness of which may be easily verified by reference to the parliamentary paper just adverted to.

“IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

1. “*Regulation of Police respecting Cultivation and Cultivators.*

“ETIENNE POLVEREL, Civil Commissary of the Republic, delegated to the French Leeward Islands in America, for the purpose of re-establishing the public order and tranquillity.

“The enfranchisement of the Africans has produced at St. Domingo a mode of cultivation unknown in France, and of which, even in the Colo-

nies, they have not hitherto suspected the possibility.—Agriculture in France furnishes only raw products. Each of its establishments requires few hands, and few implements of tillage, and has nothing in common with manufactories designed to increase the value of the raw material.

“ In the Colonies moreover they have hitherto only known cultivation by slaves. A whip, set in motion by the will of the master, has impelled the movements of the whole establishment.—The establishments are both agricultural and manufacturing. They not only produce the raw materials, but they give to them form and value: one family therefore does not suffice as in France to form an establishment.

“ Each establishment contains a numerous population, sometimes exceeding that of small towns and villages in Europe; and it is on free hands and voluntary labour that these important establishments will henceforward have to depend for their existence and activity.

“ Since the abolition of fiefs and tythes, few rural laws are needed in France. She has probably at present all that are necessary. And in the Colonies, while there were only masters and slaves, none were required.

“ But to give a uniform direction to large bodies, who require to be guided, but whom no power has a right to compel; to induce them to concur freely to the same end; to maintain peace and order among them; to prevent the abuse of liberty, and to protect effectually the rights of property, and the productions of industry; powerfully to excite that industry, and to make the general prosperity the result of the greatest gain of each individual;—to effect all this, there must be rural laws; appropriated to the local circumstances; to the nature of the climate and its productions; to the mode of culture which these require; and to the civil and political condition, and to the manners and character of the cultivators.

“ May the ready concurrence of the cultivators render unnecessary the greater part of the rules of this ordinance, that there may no longer exist in the Colonies but two classes of cultivators—proprieters of the soil, and cultivators sharing with them in the products of cultivation! This seems the only means of insuring large incomes to the proprietors, and freedom and comfort to the labourers; of preserving the public peace and order; and of maintaining liberty and equality for ever.

“ The cultivator who does not share in the fruit of his labour is always looking for the largest wages and the least work; while the sole interest of the labourer who shares the produce is to increase that produce, and consequently to augment his own receipts and the proprietor's income. And as to the cultivator on these terms, he need not be disturbed respecting the future. The products of the soil must first provide the means of his subsistence and clothing, even when he shall be unfitted for labour by age or infirmity.

“ The cultivator therefore who shares in the produce is absolutely independent of the proprietor: he is his *equal* in all the force of that term.

“ Of all the methods of proceeding which can be adopted for the cultivation of the Colonies, the association of the cultivators with the proprietors, on the principle of sharing in the products of the soil, is that

which unites the greatest advantages both for the one and the other. It makes a return to the former slavery for ever impossible; it establishes an equality to the greatest extent which is attainable among a civilized people; it gives to all classes an equal interest in respecting and protecting property, and in multiplying the products of the soil; and it solves, and perhaps alone can solve that problem in politics which has hitherto puzzled the most intrepid advocates of liberty and equality, and which may be thus stated—*How shall a society be organized so that the unequal distribution of wealth shall the least affect the liberty and equality of the citizens; and that liberty and equality shall not tend to anarchy or to the dissolution of the state?\**

This introduction is followed by a great variety of regulations divided into six heads. 1. Condition of the people. 2. Of cultivators generally. 3. Of cultivators sharing in the produce (cultivateurs portionnaires.) 4. Of cultivators for daily hire. 5. Of cultivators by the month or for a longer period; and 6. General regulations.

### 1.—Condition of the People.

1. "There are not, and will not henceforward be in St. Domingo any more than in France, any but free persons.

2. "Every individual may contract with another for his time and labour, but he can neither sell himself, nor be sold. The property in his person is inalienable. The French Republic admits not of Slavery.

3. "The rights of man are equality, liberty, safety, property.

4. "These rights are developed in the Constitutional Act of the French Republic.

5. "In the present ordinance man is considered only in his agricultural relations, abstracted from those that are civil and political.

6. "He is either a proprietor of the soil, or the cultivator of that which belongs to another.

7. "Although many men are neither proprietors nor cultivators, yet here I only distinguish these two classes, the present ordinance being for them alone.

8. "Neither from this nor from any other distinction can any inequality arise among men in respect to their natural civil and political rights. They are all equal in the eyes of the law, as they are by nature. But besides the general laws which unite and protect all citizens, there exist peculiar relations between the proprietors of the soil and the cultivators of it, and it is to these relations alone that the following rules apply.

### 2.—Of Cultivators generally.

1. "The cultivators of another person's estate are divided into three classes; those who share in the produce, those who are hired by the year or the month, and those who are hired by the day.

2. "No proprietor nor any representative or agent of his, can, by agree-

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\* Our readers will judge, as they think proper, of the political economy and the general reasonings of M. Polverel. These proceed on the assumption that the profitable cultivation of certain colonial products can *only* be carried on in large gangs; an assumption which the cases of Bengal, of Java, &c., and of Hayti at the present hour, as will hereafter be shewn, prove to be unwarranted.

nent or otherwise, alter the portion of the produce or other advantages fixed, for the cultivators working for shares, by the proclamations of the 27th August, and 31st October 1793, and by the regulation of the 7th instant,\* or alter the terms here laid down for persons labouring for wages, whether by the year or the day," under certain pecuniary penalties. Mackenzie's Report, p. 111 and 112.

### 3.—Of Cultivators for shares of the produce.

§ 1—7. The ordinary day's labour is limited to about nine hours, viz. from sunrise to half-past eight; from half-past nine to twelve; and from two to sunset; and in crop-time it shall be extended to eight o'clock in the evening. The manager (*econome-gerant*) of each plantation shall keep an exact account of the days, and hours of the day, in which the labourers or any part of them shall have been absent from their work, and shall specify the names of the defaulters, and the time of their absence; and that time being estimated at three livres a day, for each man, and two livres a day for each woman, and proportionably for the hours of absence, the amount, at each distribution of the revenue of the plantation, shall be deducted from the shares of the defaulters, and added to those of the proprietor, the manager, the overseers, (*conducteurs*), and the other labourers, *not* defaulters, in the proportions prescribed in the proclamation of the 31st October 1793, and in the 30th and 31st articles of the regulations of the 7th instant. [These are unfortunately wanting.] And if the manager should have omitted to record any of the defaulters, the amount of such defaults, and an equal amount deducted from the share of the manager who has been guilty of the omission, shall be distributed in like manner between the proprietor, the overseers, and the cultivators *not* in default.

§ 8—13. In cases of extraordinary urgency, arising from the state of the crops, certain measures may be taken for extending the period of labour during the night, beyond the customary hours, so as to prevent the losses that might accrue from inaction.

§ 14—35. The overseers shall alone order and direct the labours of the gang. They alone shall be charged with executing the instructions of those who administer the affairs of the estate. They are to rouse the labourers in time to prepare breakfast, and to be at the place of labour at sunrise. They are to superintend and encourage the labourers, and to limit the hours of rest to those fixed by the regulations, summoning them to their work or recalling them from it at the proper hours, and directing and superintending their labours at all times, both out of crop and in crop time. They alone are to issue, and cause to be executed, the orders, relative both to cultivation and to the police of the plantation, which they may receive from those who administer its affairs, or from the constituted authorities of the state. The labourers shall be bound to obey the overseers, and the overseers to obey each other according to their rank; but their authority shall be confined to the cultivation and good order of the plantation. Those labourers, who in these points, shall formally refuse to obey the orders of the

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\* Mr. Mackenzie has not given us any of the papers here referred to.

overseers, shall be subject to a month's imprisonment, with labour during the day on public works, and shall be deprived, during that time, of their share of the produce. An inferior overseer disobeying his superior, shall be punished in like manner, for two months. These punishments shall be reduced to one half in cases where there has not been a distinct refusal to obey, but merely a culpable omission. If to insubordination menaces are added, the punishment of a distinct refusal shall be doubled; and if to menaces, is added an attempt to strike, the penalty shall extend to six months in the case of labourers, and to twelve months in the case of sub-overseers, who shall also be made incapable of again exercising any authority, civil, military, or rural. If the superior should be struck by the inferior, the latter shall be excluded from any association of labourers working for shares, and shall be subjected to trial and punishment according to the penal code. If the majority of the labourers should be guilty of the acts of insubordination just mentioned, besides being liable individually to the punishments above specified, they shall be forced to quit the plantation, the proprietor being at liberty to replace them by other cultivators. If, on the other hand, an overseer shall strike one who is under him, or shall place him by his own authority under restraint, or in prison, he shall be deprived of his office and declared incapable of directing free men; and if bloodshed or any grave injury should follow, he shall be tried and punished according to the penal code. The overseers, whether male or female, of the children shall be punished in like manner, if guilty to those under their charge of any violence which shall cause loss of life or limb, or fracture, or wound, or laceration, or excoriation, or contusion, or shedding of blood. In case of quarrels, threats, and provocations, or acts of violence, among the cultivators themselves, the overseers shall place the contending parties under arrest, and endeavour to reconcile them; and the aggressors shall be confined to their houses for three successive Sundays. If the violence or the threats are used towards women, or aged or infirm persons, the person guilty shall be punished further with a fine of half his share of the produce of the plantation; and if the offence be repeated, he shall be turned off the plantation and excluded from all other associations labouring for shares; and if death or wounds ensue, he shall be tried and punished according to the penal code.

§ 36—83. A number of rules are prescribed for punishing, by pecuniary penalties, the theft or appropriation of the common property, or the use of the horses, cattle, waggons, &c. of the plantation for their own private ends, by either the proprietor, the manager, the overseers, or the cultivators for shares; the amount to be paid into the common fund and distributed in the same proportions as the produce of the plantation. If the delinquents are unable to pay the fine, they shall be imprisoned and employed on the public works, at daily wages, till the amount is paid. The same rules apply to purloining the property of individuals. A repetition of the offence shall be punished by being turned off the plantation and declared unworthy of being admitted into any similar association. Any voluntary injury done to the property, or the animals on the plantation, shall be punished in the

same manner. Damage done to the crops by pigs, sheep, cattle, or other animals, belonging to individuals, shall be exacted of the owners ; and if the animals belong to the plantation, it shall be exacted of the appointed keeper of them. Strict rules are also laid down for the due care and distribution of water, whether for common use, or for turning mills, or for irrigation, with suitable penalties for neglect or transgression. Persons not residing on the plantation, and guilty of any of the above acts, shall undergo still heavier penalties.

§ 85—89. Every manager neglecting to keep in due form the prescribed registers, or who shall correct or strike any overseer or cultivator, or who shall cause any other person to do so, shall be deprived of his office, and rendered incapable of filling such office in future. Every manager who appropriates to himself any part of the money deposited in the common chest, shall be punished in like manner, besides paying double the sum abstracted. The manager, however, shall be protected from all menace or violence, on the part of the overseers or cultivators, by the same penalties which are affixed by the clauses 14—35, to acts of insubordination on the part of the cultivators to the overseers.

§ 90—99. No cultivator, working for a share of the produce, can be deprived of his rights during the year for which he has contracted, except in the cases expressly mentioned above. A cultivator quitting the plantation during the year must find a substitute to supply his place, approved by his fellow labourers ; and if he intends quitting it at the end of the year he must give two months notice of his intention. Failing in either of these points, he shall be subject to be imprisoned and employed on the public works. A cultivator cannot be excluded from the plantation, at the end of the year, by either the proprietor or manager, but only by a vote of the majority of the cultivators, of which he shall have two months notice. An establishment for cultivating by shares can only be broken up in the following cases :—When a majority of the cultivators refuse to perform the prescribed conditions ;—when it is found necessary to expel the body of cultivators, as a punishment for insubordination ;—or when the cultivators are reduced to less than half their number, by death, weakness, voluntary retirement, or forcible removal. In these cases the proprietor may form a new association of cultivators for shares, or employ labourers for hire by the day or the year ; but he cannot, even then, turn off the old, the young, or the infirm. If, however, the association, though reduced in its numbers, shall be able, two months before the close of the year, to recruit them to three-fourths of their complement, the proprietor shall not be at liberty to discontinue the establishment. Whenever the reduced state of the establishment, or the urgency of the season, puts in peril a part of the crop, or renders it difficult to prepare for the future crop, the proprietor may strengthen the establishment by such number of day labourers as he shall judge necessary, the cost of such hired labour being charged to the common fund, and being first paid out of the proceeds of the plantation. Every other cause of difference or quarrel, between proprietors and cultivators, than those hereinbefore regulated, shall be settled by the course of law common to all citizens ; all, whether proprietors or cultivators, being, in every other respect, on a footing of equality. *Ibid*, p. 113—119.



## 4.—Of Labourers by the day.

The rules with respect to them as to periods of labour, submission to the overseers, peaceableness of demeanour, protection from violence, &c., are much the same as in the preceding chapter, their offences being punishable by dismissal and loss of wages. They are not, however, to have overseers (*conducteurs*) of *their own choice*, as is the case with labourers for shares, but are to submit to the overseers already chosen by such.\*—Work from sunset to sunrise, when required, shall be paid for at the rate of half an Escalin (a ninth of a dollar) an hour in the case of men, and in the case of women, a third of an Escalin. *Ibid*, p. 119.

## 5.—Of Labourers hired by the month or longer.

The hire of field-work by the month is fixed, for men above eighteen, at four dollars, for women at two dollars and a half, and for persons from fourteen to eighteen at two dollars, to be paid at the end of the month. If they quit before the end of their term, they shall forfeit the wages due. If they are dismissed before the term, they shall be paid for all the time there is to run. The hire of mechanics and artisans shall be settled by special contract.

## 6.—General Regulations.

The justices of peace, and their assessors, shall have jurisdiction in all matters comprised in this ordinance; and where none have been yet appointed, the jurisdiction shall belong to the military commandants, and to one or other of them, in all cases of accusation, arrest, and prosecution, the necessary papers and proofs shall be sent.

The present ordinance shall be printed; published on three successive Sundays, in a loud and intelligible voice; and explained, in the Creole dialect, during the hours of market, and in the market-place of the chief place of each parish; and pasted up in all conspicuous and frequented places, and at the chief dwelling houses of plantations. It shall also be duly registered in all superior as well as inferior courts, and sent to all the principal officers civil and military, who are all made responsible for its due execution. *Ibid*, p. 119, 120.

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2. The above Ordinance of Polverel appears to have been in full force from the time of its promulgation, in February 1794, until the beginning of August 1798. During that interval Toussaint Louverture had risen to the chief command; and it is of this period that Colonel Malenfant, in a passage cited by us in No. 70, p. 408, speaks when he says, "The colony flourished under Toussaint. *The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates*, and the negroes continued to work for them." This statement, as we have shewn, was fully confirmed by General La Croix, who as well as Colonel Malenfant, served in St. Domingo at the time. He informs us, in his memoirs of St. Domingo, that the com-

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\* What resemblance can possibly exist between the *conducteur* of Hayti and the driver of Jamaica, the former being thus *chosen* by the labourers to guide their labours and protect their interests?

missioner Santhonax, who had been recalled to France, on returning to the colony in 1796, "was astonished at the state in which he found it." "This," he adds, "was owing to Toussaint, who, while he had succeeded in establishing order and discipline among the black troops, had succeeded also in making the black labourers return to the plantations, there to resume cultivation." In the next year, 1797, the same author tells us that the colony was marching, "as by enchantment towards its ancient splendour: cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress." The testimony of General Vincent, another eye-witness, is to the same effect. (See Reporter, vol. iii. No. 70, p. 469.)

The war which had been waged by England in St. Domingo, with such disastrous expence of blood and treasure, for the purpose of restoring slavery, and which must necessarily have given birth to great disorders, and must have extensively interfered with the progress of cultivation, was now brought to a close. To repress those disorders and to give a renewed impulse to cultivation, a fresh ordinance was issued on the 3rd of August, 1798, accompanied by an urgent call on all public functionaries to exert themselves in giving it effect. "In St. Domingo, as in France," says this address, "royalists and anarchists see, with dismay, the establishment of constitutional order; and, with a view to disturb the peace of the colony, try all means of impeding the progress of cultivation. 'Let us persuade the cultivators,' they say, 'that liberty consists in doing no work, and if we succeed, we shall certainly restore slavery, since the colony, yielding no resource, will be abandoned by the mother country.' But no! the true friends of liberty will make the cultivators sensible that labour alone can render them happy, both by procuring for them in abundance the means of providing for the wants of their families, and by raising the colony to the degree of splendour to which it ought to aspire."

The ordinance itself, which will be found at p. 95, of Mr. Mackenzie's report, premises that since agriculture is the foundation of prosperity to a state;—that since, in order to make agriculture flourish, all possible means must be adopted for assuring to the cultivators the fruit of their toils;—that since cultivators and proprietors are authorized to enter into mutual contracts for a limited time;—that since by means of a good police the colonial cultivators may attain to a still greater degree of comfort than those of France; and finally, that since the industrious will derive less from their exertions if their brethren of the same establishment are permitted to live in idleness and vagrancy;—*therefore* these further regulations are issued.

The regulations spoken of refer to the division of the produce between the cultivators and the proprietor. The cultivators are to enjoy a fourth of the revenue of the plantation, from which no deduction shall be made, on any pretext, either for expences or taxes; and till this fourth is paid the proprietor can dispose of no part of the proceeds of the estate, the share of the cultivators also being conveyed by him to the nearest place of shipment. Besides this, the cultivators shall have adequate provision grounds allotted to each family of them, and shall have medical attendance and medicine at the proprietor's expence.—

Proprietors or managers are bound to act as fathers of families towards the cultivators, and to induce them to form legitimate marriages, by making them sensible that such unions "are the best means of securing to themselves the enjoyment of all social blessings; of obtaining consolation, care, and assistance in sorrow and sickness; of promoting that purity of manners which is so essential to happiness and health; of rapidly increasing population; and of extending cultivation and augmenting its products."—The hours of labour vary a little from the former regulation of Polverel. They extend from day dawn to eleven of the forenoon, with an interval for breakfast; and from two till dusk in the afternoon, the mid-day interval extending to three hours. An exact account is to be kept of the days and hours of attendance of every cultivator, with a view of regulating accordingly the distribution of shares. The term of contracts for labour is extended from one to three years, and they are to be registered gratis by the justices of the peace, or the municipal officers; and a year's notice must be given mutually by the proprietor and cultivator of the intention to dissolve the contract. Penalties are annexed for violating such contracts, and for causing tumults or disturbances on the plantation, consisting of pecuniary fines, imprisonment, and labour on the public works. The commandants of quarters are to superintend the police and to maintain order on the plantations.—The managers of estates shall have power to give leave of absence to the cultivator only to the extent of the arrondissement in which the plantation is situated. Beyond that they must have passports from the constituted authorities.—Every month these regulations must be read on the plantations; and they must be printed and published, and fixed up in conspicuous places, and sent to all the authorities civil and military, who are held responsible for their due execution.

3. These regulations on the subject of cultivation appear to have continued in force until the arrival of the French army in St. Domingo, in February 1802. We assume this to have been the case from the circumstance that when Toussaint, on the 2nd of July, 1801, gave a new constitution to St. Domingo, intended to prevent the restoration of slavery, and which he employed General Vincent to convey to Buonaparte, (as related in the Reporter, No. 70, p. 469,) he seems to have made no change in the regulations respecting agriculture—a presumption that he deemed them adequate to their purpose.

The constitution then given to St. Domingo was the work of a convention of delegates from the departments assembled at Port-au-Prince, in May 1801. It is prefaced by a brief exposition of the reasons which existed for drawing it up, and it is followed by an address to the inhabitants and to the army, which remain as proofs of the wisdom and patriotism as well as of the talents of Toussaint and his coadjutors. (See Mackenzie's Report, p. 122—132.)

The preface states in substance that for a long time St. Domingo had been a prey to disorders, and was verging to destruction, when the genius of Toussaint Louverture, by the most judicious combinations, by wisely framed plans, and by actions the most energetic, rescued it, at one and the same time, both from its external and internal foes; sup-

pressed the germs of discord; caused abundance to succeed to wretchedness, the love of peace and industry to civil war and idleness, and security to terror; and subjected the whole to the authority of France. — The revolution had violently overthrown the whole ancient regime. The different governments of France had substituted from time to time new laws, but their inconsistencies, their inaptitude, and their viciousness were acknowledged by their very framers, and, in the hands of factious or selfish individuals, had tended rather to inflame than to repress disorder. The laws, therefore, became in some cases objects of terror, and in others of contempt. In France the necessity was felt of an entire new system for the colonies, adapted to their state, manners, and circumstances; and yet how difficult must they find it, acting on partial and unfaithful reports, at so great a distance, and in a time of maritime war, to appreciate existing evils and to apply proper and effectual remedies. The 91st article of the French Constitution\* would of itself authorize the people of St. Domingo in presenting to the Government the laws which ought to be adopted, if past experience did not prove that it was their duty to do so. “And what more proper time,” they ask, “could be chosen for such a purpose than this which is made propitious, by the *restoration of order, by the clearing away of the ruins of the ancient edifice, by the removal of prejudices, and by the calming of passions*; so as to form one of those epochs for fixing the destiny of a people which does not present itself but once in an age, and which if neglected may never recur. The interests equally of the colony and of the mother country, which are closely linked together, require therefore the institution of courts of justice; measures for increasing the diminished population, and for reviving cultivation and commerce; and the firmer union of the Spanish with the French part of the island. They point out also the necessity of establishing a uniform system of finance, correcting abuses; *the duty of setting the minds of absent proprietors at ease respecting the safety of their property*; and, in fine, the importance of consolidating and rendering stable the internal tranquillity; of *augmenting the prosperity the colony now enjoys* after the storms which have agitated it; of making every one acquainted with his rights and his duties; of extinguishing distrusts; and of framing a code of laws to which all affections will be attached, and with which all interests will be interwoven. Such are the motives, in the existing impossibility in which France, engaged in a war with maritime powers, finds herself of succouring this immense colony, which have decided the General-in-chief to add to the other benefits he has conferred upon St. Domingo, that of convoking this Legislative Assembly to propose to the Government of France a constitution suited to it. The composition of the Assembly proves that he has desired to remove from its discussions all passion and violence, and to avail himself of all the lights within his reach; and if it has not fulfilled its task completely, it has done what circumstances permitted it to do. It could not venture to propose at once all the changes that are desirable.

\* Namely that of 13th December 1799. The words are, “The administration of the colonies is to be determined by special laws.”

The colony cannot reach its height of prosperity but by degrees. The good, to be lasting, must be progressive. In this respect we must imitate nature, who does nothing with precipitation, but matures by little and little her beneficent productions. Happy if this first attempt should contribute to ameliorate the lot and to merit the esteem and favour of our fellow citizens, as well as the approbation of France, even if it should not have attained to perfection. "All the articles of the constitution," they go on to say, "have been discussed and adopted without passion, prejudice, or partiality; and the form of Government especially, that has been chosen, has been fixed as the only one fitted, in existing circumstances, to preserve the peace of the colony, and to restore it to its ancient splendour. Every two years, however, successive assemblies will have the opportunity of making such changes as time and experience may render necessary. The Assembly has not the vanity to believe that it has framed the best possible constitution, but it can assure its fellow-citizens that all its members have been actuated by an ardent zeal for the public good, and by the desire to secure the existing quiet of the colony, to render lasting and to augment its present prosperity, and to prove their attachment to the mother country."

We subjoin the substance of a few of the clauses of the constitutional law itself.

§ 3—5. There shall be no slaves in this territory; slavery is *there* for ever abolished. *There*, all men are born, live, and die free. *There*, every man, whatever be his colour, is admissible to all offices. *There*, there shall be no distinction but that of virtue and talent, and no other difference of rank but what the law attaches to the exercise of a public function. The law is the same for all whether it punish or protect.

§ 6—11. The Catholic religion is the only one publicly professed. Every parish shall provide for its worship and ministers, the extent of whose spiritual jurisdiction shall be prescribed by the Governor, and who are not, on any pretence, to form a *body* (un corps) in the colony. Marriage tending to purity of manners, those who practise the virtues of that state, shall be specially honoured and protected.

§ 12, 13. The constitution ensures personal liberty, and security. No one can be arrested but by orders formally given by an authorized functionary, nor confined in any but a public prison.\* Property is sacred and inviolable. Every one, by himself or his representatives, has the free use and disposal of what belongs to him; and whosoever interferes with this right commits a crime against society, and is responsible to the party injured.

§ 14—18. The colony being essentially agricultural, the labours of cultivation are not to suffer any interruption. Each plantation requires an association of cultivators, forming as it were the tranquil asylum of an industrious family, of which the proprietor of the soil, or his representative, is the parent, and each cultivator and mechanic a member and a sharer in its revenues. The governor (Toussaint was named governor

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\* Those who know that every estate in the Slave Colonies has its own prison, liable to no inspection from the magistrate, will be able to appreciate the value of this restriction.

for life,) has power to regulate and repress those changes of domicile which tend to produce the most injurious effects on the prosperity of the colony, in conformity with the ordinance of 20 Vendémaire, year 9, and the proclamation of the 19 Pluviose of the same year: \* all proper means will be taken by the government to encourage the increase of population, and the accession of fresh labourers, the Governor being charged to ensure the faithful execution of all engagements that may be entered into with such labourers. †

The remainder of this ordinance, fixing the general constitution of the government, in its political, legislative, executive, judicial, municipal, military, and financial relations, is foreign to our present purpose, and we therefore omit it, with the exception of a clause, 73, which secures to absent proprietors their rights of property, with the exception of those who may have been inscribed by the government of France in the general list of Emigrants, and who have not been erased from it by the same authority.

4. From the language employed in this code of 1801, and from the observations which accompanied it as given above, it may be fairly inferred that the agriculture of St. Domingo had recovered from the state of depression, which the revolutionary convulsion, though which it had passed, could not have failed to produce; and that under the influence of a system, which so regulated the relations of proprietors and cultivators as to secure to the latter an ample share of the fruits of their industry, the emancipated slaves of that island had been induced to resume and to carry on their ordinary labours. They had become co-partners with the proprietors of the soil in all which that soil could be made by their labour to produce; and they had also become the subjects of general laws, equally affecting every class of the community, and to which the proprietor was equally amenable with the humblest labourer on his plantation. The result appears to have been tranquillity, order, content, and prosperity. We have already seen the testimony to this effect borne by General La Croix, and by Colonel Malenfant.‡

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\* This ordinance and proclamation are unfortunately not given by Mr. Mackenzie. "After the most diligent inquiry," he says, "I was unable to find" them.—They were probably called for, by the insurrection of Rigaud, in the South, which had produced great disorders, and which Toussaint had recently succeeded in suppressing.

† This has been represented, by the enemies of Haytian liberty, as pointing to importations by means of a Slave Trade; but there is no doubt it had a reference to measures for encouraging the influx of labourers from the United States, and the neighbouring Islands, on some such plan as was afterwards pursued by Boyer.

‡ Colonel Malenfant, on the ground of his extensive personal experience, thus urges, in 1814, the Government of Louis the XVIII. to proceed, in case they should attempt to repossess themselves of St. Domingo:—"Ordonnez que les noirs de vos Colonies soient co-partageans. Ils ne se revolteront pas, si vous leur declarez que le parlement ordonne qu'ils recoivent le quart du revenu, pour fruit de leurs sueurs. Ils se jetteront a vos genoux; ils vous beniront de ce bienfait, et la tranquillité sera éternelle dans toutes les colonies." Such a plan, he adds, would not only establish true liberty, but quadruple the consumption of French manufactures. (See *Des Colonies*, par Malenfant, p. 106.)

Again, he says, "Les planteurs verront qu'en accordant a leurs cultivateurs le

That of General Vincent, was, if possible, still more decisive. He quitted St. Domingo in 1801, and, at that time, he gave the strongest assurances to Buonaparte that no change of system was required, or would be beneficial; that every thing was going on well; that the white proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; that cultivation was making rapid progress; and that the blacks were industrious, orderly, and happy.

And such was actually the state in which, in February, 1802, Leclerc's expedition found St. Domingo. He came instructed to restore the ancient *regime*; he nevertheless announced on his arrival a very different purpose. Buonaparte's first proclamation told the inhabitants, "Whatever your origin, or your colour, you are all French; you are all free, all equal before God, and before the republic."—"If it be said to you, 'these forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty,' answer, 'The republic will not permit it to be taken away from us.'" Leclerc also made use of the strongest assurances to the same effect. "If the planters should dare to speak of restoring slavery, he would consume them as the fire consumes the dried canes." But though the language of their proclamations was thus imposing, their conduct and deportment were such as sufficiently manifested their perfidy. The very manner of Leclerc's first approach to Cape François proved it. Christophe, who commanded at the Cape, was so convinced of it, that he replied to the summons of Leclerc, "Ou nous prend donc encore pour des esclaves. Allez dire au general Leclerc que les Français ne marcheront ici que sur un monceau de cendres, et que la terre les brulera." Having uttered these words, he began the conflagration of the Cape by setting fire to his own house, which was elegantly decorated, and thus evinced his determination of resistance.

No less decisive was the conduct of Toussaint. On the 9th of February, 1802, he wrote thus from St. Mark's, to one of his generals, Domage, commanding at Jeremie—"I send to you my aid-de-camp, Chaney, who will communicate to you my sentiments. As Jeremie is rendered very strong by its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself in it, and defend it with the courage I know you possess.—Distrust the whites; they will betray you if they can. Their desire, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery. I therefore give you a *carte blanche* for your conduct: all which you shall do will be well done. Raise the cultivators in mass, and convince them fully of this truth, that they must place no confidence in those artful agents who may have recently received the proclamations of the white men in France, and would circulate them clandestinely in order to seduce the friends of liberty.—I have ordered General Laplume to burn the town of Cayes, the other towns, and all the plains, should they be unable to resist the

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quart sur les revenus, ils auront une autorité plus grande, que toujours, sous ce regime, ils trouveront la masse de leurs ateliers prête à contraindre les paresseux (s'il s'en trouve) et même à les punir, par la raison que si l'un travaillait moins que l'autre, le cultivateur actif se trouverait lésé lors des partages." Ib. p. 130. "Il est prouvé qu'un homme qui travaille pour ses propres intérêts, le fait avec plus de zèle que celui qui travaille pour autrui sous le fouet toujours prêt à le frapper." Ib. p. 144.

enemy's force; and thus all the troops of the different garrisons, and all the cultivators, will be enabled to reinforce you at Jeremie.—You will entertain a perfect good understanding with General Laplume, in order to execute with ease what may be necessary.—You will employ in the planting of provisions all the women occupied in cultivation.—Endeavour as much as possible to acquaint me with your situation.—I rely entirely upon you, and leave you completely at liberty to perform every thing which may be requisite to free us from the horrid yoke with which we are threatened.—I wish you good health. TOUSSAINT LOUVETURE.”

These proceedings sufficiently indicate the desperate nature of the resistance which men who had tasted the bitterness of slavery were prepared to make to those who would reimpose its yoke. Even the prosperity to which the wise and wakeful policy of Toussaint had succeeded in raising the colony, nay, life itself, was as the dust in the balance when weighed, in his mind and that of his adherents, against the return of the cart-whip. Accordingly the conflict proved to be of such a determined and unyielding character, on the part of the blacks, as soon convinced Leclerc that even the sacrifice of his whole army would gain him but a barren and bootless victory. He now saw that, trusting to the valour and discipline of his veteran legions, he had thrown off the mask too soon. He therefore suspended hostilities, and had recourse to negotiation. He insidiously held out, as the conditions of submission, the unqualified freedom of all the blacks, and the complete amalgamation of the two armies; the black officers retaining in the French service the respective ranks they had borne in their own. The bait succeeded, and for a short time peace and harmony were restored, and the cultivators resumed their labours. It was on the 24th of April that Leclerc proclaimed the conclusion of this arrangement, stating its basis to be, “liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour.” And on the 3d of May, we find him writing to Toussaint, who had previously been outlawed, but whose outlawry was now reversed, and, in flattering terms, assuring him that a veil of oblivion should be thrown over all that had passed.—“You, General, and your troops, will be employed and treated like the rest of my army. With regard to yourself, you desire repose, and you deserve it.” “I rely so much on the attachment you bear to the colony, as to believe you will employ the moments you have of leisure in your retreat, in communicating to me your views respecting the means to be taken to make agriculture and commerce again flourish.”

In a few weeks from this time, namely in the month of June 1802, Leclerc, having advantageously disposed matters for his purpose, (the native troops, and their principal officers being so distributed as he judged would place them completely in his power, and the cultivators being dispersed on the plantations,) suddenly caused Toussaint and his family to be arrested and shipped off for France. At the same time the most active measures were resorted to for disarming the native troops, and for either deporting or savagely butchering their best and most influential officers. These events operated like an electric spark on the whole black population of the colony, which was ere long in full insurrection.



The native officers and troops, who had not already fallen victims to Leclerc's treachery, escaped and joined the insurgents; and conflagration, and unsparing massacre, and the refusal of all quarter, became the regular order of the renewed hostilities on both sides, to which the French, who were the aggressors in this war of mutual vengeance and extermination, added horrors of a still more revolting character. Their prisoners were drowned by hundreds in the harbours, till pestilence went forth from their floating carcases;—or they were thrown alive, men, women, and children, to bloodhounds to be torn limb from limb and devoured.\* Disease also began to make dreadful ravages among the French. Leclerc fell a victim to it as early as the close of October 1802, and before the end of the year the French troops were so reduced, and so hemmed in and confined to their fortified places on the coast, that all idea of conquest seemed hopeless. The war however was still carried on with the most savage fury on both sides, the French calling in the aid of large packs of bloodhounds from Cuba, so that almost the whole of the Island, with the exception of the mountain fastnesses and the forts, became one unvarying scene of carnage and desolation. The buildings and sugar-works were every where destroyed, and nothing was left, in the plains or accessible parts of the island, which could afford shelter or sustenance to the invaders. They had now to depend wholly on supplies from without, and famine soon began to add its ravages to those of disease and the sword. At length, in the month of December 1803, the island was finally abandoned, a mere handful of the French troops escaping the destruction which had already overtaken about 60,000 of their fellows.

Thus for nearly two years, with a very brief interval, had a war raged in St. Domingo, singularly ferocious and vindictive in its character, and directed latterly more to extermination than to conquest, sparing neither sex nor age, and sweeping away from the whole face of the plains of that beautiful island every trace of cultivation. So complete was the extinction of all sugar culture in particular, that, for a time, not an ounce of that article was procurable. The very roots and fruits on which subsistence depended were cultivated only in the *mornes*. Desolation therefore could hardly be conceived more complete than prevailed, in 1804 and 1805, over all those parts of the colony which had formerly been covered with plantations; and it is well known how soon the rank vegetation of a tropical climate converts the neglected plantation into mere jungle.

Is it to be wondered at, that under these circumstances, Hayti should have ceased to export tropical produce? And how perfectly absurd, therefore, are all the reasonings which, by a comparison of the exports from that island in 1789 with those of 1805, would endeavour to establish

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\* The words of Malenfant, writing in 1814, by way of solemn warning to the French government, fully confirm this statement. They are as follows: "Les noirs ont le cœur ulcéré par les cruautés qu'on à exercées envers eux; en faisant noyades a la Carrier; en les faisant devorer par des chiens, que, pour rendre plus feroces, on ne nourrissait que de chair de noir; cruautés, peut être, au dessus de celles des Pizarros, des Almagros, feroces conquerants de Perou." p. 122.

the inaptitude of a black population for productive industry!—To secure the means of subsistence in case of another invasion, and to defeat that invasion if attempted, became now the grand objects of Haytian solicitude. It was made a fundamental law of the state, that the moment an enemy should begin to debark on the shores of the island, that moment every town on the coast, and every building on the plain, should disappear, and the whole of the population betake themselves, the women to the *mornes*, and the men to arms. And this state of uncertainty and peril, necessarily fatal to all schemes and efforts of prospective industry, continued to operate, in a greater or less degree, until the year 1826, when France first renounced her right to attempt again the subjugation of her ancient colony.

Now in all this long interval what inducement was there to expend capital in re-erecting sugar works, and in renewing, on the plains of this island, those large agricultural establishments which had been so completely destroyed? As for capital, indeed, it had no existence. The very means and instruments required for the culture, preparation, manufacture, and safe-keeping of exportable produce were annihilated, and had now, as it were, to be recreated.

And was not this the very state of all others in which we might have expected to see realized those prophetic wailings of returning barbarism, which, we are told, must infallibly accompany negro freedom? But what is the historical fact? It is, that in spite of all the ruin which had thus overspread the island; in spite of the innumerable discouragements which combined to obstruct industrious effort, and the employment of capital in prospective plans of agricultural improvement; in spite of all the disorganizing and demoralizing circumstances, in which the people of Hayti have since been placed;—they have continued to struggle with their difficulties, and have risen superior to them; they have continued to improve their social and civil condition; and instead of declining in civilization, as we were assured would infallibly be the case, they have been progressively advancing in it, not only since 1826, when their independence was declared, but previously to that period; and a decisive proof of such advance is to be found in the single fact, that, in the interval between 1804 and 1824, Hayti more than doubled its population.

Indeed, no sooner had Hayti had time to breathe after having rid herself of her fell invaders, than persevering efforts were made to repair the general devastation, and to give fresh life to agricultural industry. Mr. Mackenzie has given us in his Report, p. 133—136, the constitution adopted by a legislative assembly, convened by Dessalines, early in 1805. That constitution received his signature on the 20th of May in that year. It thus opens:—

“In our own names, and in that of the people of Hayti, who have legally chosen us as the faithful organs and interpreters of their will;—in the presence of the Supreme Being, before whom all are equal, and who has formed so many different kinds of creatures on the face of this globe, only for the end of manifesting his power and glory by the variety of his works;—in the face of the entire world, of which we have been so unjustly, and for so long a time,

the rejected outcasts; we declare that the present constitution is the free, spontaneous, and fixed expression of our minds, and of the general will of our constituents, which we submit to the sanction of the emperor, our liberator, and refer it to him to carry into execution."

We need not detail the provisions of this constitution, which are much of the same kind with those contained in that of Toussaint, in 1801, to which we have already adverted; except that it changes the name of the island from St. Domingo to Hayti; and makes it a fundamental law, that, with certain specified exceptions, no *white* shall hereafter put his foot on its territory with any claims as master or proprietor (*à titre de maitre ou de propriétaire.*) Slavery is for ever abolished, and all are made equal in the eye of the law, the emperor himself being liable to be displaced, and treated as an enemy to the state, if he should attempt to violate this fundamental principle. One of the articles to which we have already alluded, is thus expressed, "*Au premier coup de canon d'alarme, les villes disparaissent et la nation est debout.*"—Agriculture, designated as the first, and most noble, and most useful of employments, is placed under the special favour and protection of the state, and is committed to the more immediate superintendence of the minister of finance and the interior, the laws already existing on the subject being probably deemed sufficient for his guidance. Those laws were some years afterwards consolidated, and reduced to a more regular system, by Christophe, whose code (inserted entire in Mr. Mackenzie's Report, p. 136—145,) differed little in its principles and details from the Code Rural of Boyer, passed in 1826. (House of Commons papers of 1827, No. 393.) It is also inserted entire in the Reporter, Vol. i. No. 23. Of this code which is now the law of Hayti, we shall proceed to give an abstract of such parts as bear upon the existing relation of the Haytian cultivators, (the *ci-devant* slaves of St. Domingo) with the present proprietors of the soil. Such parts of the code as have no special reference to this object, we shall pass over very lightly.\*

#### *5.—Abstract of the existing Code Rural of Hayti.*

1. All citizens not employed in civil or military service, not engaged in any lines of business subject to license (*patenté*); or not employed as working artificers or domestic servants, or in the cutting of timber fit for exportation; all in short who shall not be able to shew that they possess other means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth.

2. No one who is occupied in agriculture shall be allowed to quit the country in order to reside in towns without an authority from the magistrate, who shall not give that authority till he has ascertained that the applicant is a person of good character and correct conduct, and has the means of subsisting in the place to which he wishes to move. Persons contravening this law shall be dealt with as vagrants.

3. The children of cultivators are not to be sent to towns to be apprenticed or educated without a magistrate's certificate, which shall how-

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\* We pass over also entirely the intermediate reigns of Dessalines and Christophe, and the gigantic schemes as well as ferocious acts of the former, in order to reach at once the present times, which more immediately affect pending questions.

ever be granted at the request of the proprietor of the place where the parent resides, or of the officer of rural police, or of the parent or the child, under a penalty of twenty-five dollars.

4. Then follow some restrictions as to opening shops in the country, and some regulations respecting travelling pedlars, the licenses to be given to those who possess boats, and the tax to be imposed on the rent of houses erected in the country and not connected with rural establishments. (Reporter, No. 23, p. 330, 331.)

5. Regulations follow respecting land-marks, boundaries, and establishments; the cutting down of wood, and the planting of the borders of rivers with certain trees, with a view to shade; the precautions to be used in setting fire to the wood of cleared land, or in savannahs, &c.; the manner in which cattle are to be kept, and cottages built on plantations, and for keeping in order the dikes, reservoirs, and conduits of water for irrigation and other useful purposes. (Ibid. p. 332, 333.)

6. All who carry on the raising of exportable produce, together with the grain and food, and roots designed for the use of the cultivators, are not subject to a land-tax, but only to a tax on the produce got up fit for exportation. Those who confine their culture to pot vegetables, fruits, provisions, and fodder, and do not raise articles for export, are subject to a land-tax to be levied half yearly, on the estimated value of their produce.

7. On every plantation they shall be bound to cultivate provisions, &c., sufficient for the sustenance of the persons employed upon it, and to have them carefully kept, under a penalty of three to fifteen dollars for each neglect.

8. On every plantation on which the cultivators work for a fourth of the produce, each shall be bound to have for his personal use provision grounds, to be cultivated during his hours or days of repose, proprietors being bound to furnish the land necessary for that purpose.

9. When produce is about to be packed, the officer of rural police shall have a right to examine it in order to prevent fraud, and if fraud appears, the produce shall be confiscated. If it should prove to be badly prepared he shall suspend its removal, and oblige the parties to clean it anew. Produce cannot be sent off for exportation without a permit from the proprietor. Small pecuniary penalties are annexed to the breach of these regulations. (Ibid. p. 334.)

10. All cultivators of land the property of another, or persons who cut timber for exportation, shall be obliged to enter into a contract with the proprietor or renter; the contract to be entered into either individually, or by the whole body of cultivators collectively. These contracts cannot be for a shorter time than two years on grass and provision farms, or than three years in the case of farms for growing exportable produce, nor for a longer term in either of these cases than nine years. Contracts for wood-cutting cannot be made for a shorter term than six months, or for a longer term than a year. The contract shall be in writing before a notary, who shall preserve a minute of it, and it must express the conditions of the contract, which shall be such, provided they do not contravene this code, as the parties shall agree upon; the neglect of these formalities to be liable to a fine, and to preclude the

party guilty of the neglect from bringing any action at law on the subject. Contracts with cultivators who have not fulfilled their previous contracts shall be void, and such cultivator, besides being subject to a fine, shall be sent back at his own expense to fulfil his prior contract.

11. Parties working for half of the produce, shall share with the proprietor in an equal half of all fruit, provisions, pulse, grain, &c., on that plantation. On sugar estates, before the division is made, the proprietor shall deduct a fifth of the gross produce for the use of machinery, utensils, cattle, &c., and other charges.

12. Parties labouring for a fourth part of the produce, shall have a fourth part of the gross of all they raise, besides enjoying all they raise, on their own grounds, during the hours or days of rest.

13. When the crops are prepared and collected, they cannot be removed till a division shall have been made between the proprietor and the cultivators labouring, whether for a half or a fourth. On sugar plantations the division of shares among the cultivators shall be made after the grinding of each piece of canes. On plantations of coffee, cotton, cocoa, indigo, &c., the division shall take place at the end of the respective crops; on those of provision or grain, or in cutting firewood, making charcoal, and other irregular works, every six months. When the time of division arrives, the proprietor shall call the officer of rural police to witness the division. The accounts of the articles or products raised or manufactured, shall be examined with the vouchers of sales; the proceeds reckoned up, and the shares of each person settled.

14. Each of the co-sharers shall be inscribed in the distribution list, according to their strength and activity, and the time they have worked in the first, second, or third class, and the whole shall be divided into quarter shares, half shares, and whole shares. The overseers shall each have three whole shares. The head sugar boilers, head carpenters, and heads of other departments shall have two shares. Labourers of the first class, whether men or women, a share and a half, of the second one share, of the third three quarters; children from twelve to sixteen, and elderly people, half a share; younger children and infirm persons a quarter share. The broken money shall go to those who have shewn most punctuality and diligence.

15. The labourers shall be furnished with daily tickets to shew the days they were at work, to be replaced by weekly tickets, to be brought into account when the division takes place.

16. The officer of rural police shall withdraw for himself no part of the sum to be divided. He shall make a statement of the division, and make a return of it duly verified, to the Council of the Commune.

17. Proprietors may permit the absence of cultivators from their homes, for eight days within the Commune. A longer absence must be sanctioned by the Commandant of the Commune. (Ib. p. 335—337.)

18. Proprietors, &c. shall behave to the cultivators as good fathers of families. They shall supply, at their own cost, tools and implements to cultivators for a fourth, who, if the tools be lost, are bound to replace them; and shall supply also the means of conveying the shares of the cultivators to the place of sale. The labourers for half, shall convey it thither at their own charge. Proprietors undertaking to sell for the cul-

tivators their fourth or half, shall produce clear vouchers of the transaction. When the fourth or half shall be sold by the overseers or the cultivators on their own account, they shall equally be bound to furnish proof of their having dealt fairly with the co-sharers. The salaries of managers shall always be paid by the proprietor, and not taken from the shares of the cultivators whether for a fourth or a half. Proprietors are liable to a fine if they do not contract with a medical practitioner to attend the cultivators, and do not also furnish the necessary medicines, to be supplied gratis to cultivators for a fourth, but paid for by cultivators for a half. Proprietors are also bound to see that the infant children of the cultivators are taken care of, and the due number of nurses appointed for that purpose, whom the cultivators shall be made to remunerate in proportion to the number of their children. (Ib. p. 338.)

19. Cultivators shall be obedient and respectful to proprietors and managers, and shall execute with zeal and punctuality the labours they have contracted to perform; devoting to these their whole time, and on no account quitting them, or being at liberty to absent themselves, without leave of the proprietor, except from Saturday morning to Monday at sunrise. On other days they must have a permit from the proprietor for absence if within the commune, but if without, from the officer of rural police. The cultivators, whether for a fourth or a half, shall be bound to put the proprietor's portion of the produce in a state fit for delivery, and convey it to the place of sale, the proprietor furnishing the means of transport.

20. Head men, of parties not exceeding ten, may contract with the proprietor, and form sub-contracts with the cultivators.

21. Besides cultivators for shares, persons may engage themselves by the week, the month, or the job, on such terms as shall be agreed upon, and while so engaged, must respect and obey the proprietor. When persons are engaged to assist by the day, week, or job, in the labours of an estate cultivated for shares, their wages must be deducted from the mass of the proceeds, before distribution is made to the co-sharers. If persons so hired do not fulfil their engagements, they shall forfeit what may be due them.

22. All differences between proprietors and cultivators shall be carried to the officer of rural police, or the Council of Commune, and if not settled by them, referred to arbiters; and if not settled by them, to the justice of the peace, who shall decide finally. The whole must be concluded within six days. (Ibid. p. 339, 340.)

23. On every plantation, having more than ten labourers, on which the proprietor or renter is not resident, there shall be a manager appointed and paid by him, under a penalty of from ten to fifty dollars. The duties of the manager are to superintend, for the proprietor, the labours of the plantation, and he is answerable for any damage he may cause to the proprietor, by his neglect of his duties. (Ibid. p. 348.)

24. The duties of overseers are to cause the work to be done, by the labourers entrusted to their care, agreeably to the directions of the proprietor or manager. They shall be answerable for all absence, or neglect of work, or disorders, or vagrancy, which they have not reported to the proper authorities. They shall receive their remunera-

tion from the share of the produce assigned to the labourers. (Ibid. p. 349.)

25. The labours of the field shall continue from Monday morning till Friday evening, except in extraordinary cases, where the common interests of all require a prolongation of them. On each day the labour shall continue from day dawn till sunset, with intervals of two hours and a half. Pregnant females shall be employed on light work only, and shall not work at all in the field after the fourth month, or for four months after delivery, and then their time of labour shall be abridged by two hours in the day. No cultivator fixed on a plantation shall be absent at the times of labour without leave. (Ibid. p. 351.)

26. The cultivators shall be obedient to their overseers, and to the proprietor, manager, &c., in executing the labour they have engaged to perform. Disobedience or insult shall be punished with imprisonment according to the exigency of the case, by the justice of the peace. Cultivators shall also be subject to a like punishment for quitting their work on working days; Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays being at their own disposal. (Ibid. p. 351.)

There are, besides the above, in this code, a great variety of regulations, which are unimportant with a view to our present purpose, on the formation and management of breeding farms, on the care and tending of animals, and on the means of obtaining reparation for damage done by them; we therefore omit them. We omit also the minute details respecting the rules for the due administration of the Rural Police, which is to be conducted under the general superintendence of Commandants of Departments, and under them of Commandants of Communes, by sectional officers of rural police, by rural guards, by the gend'armerie, and if need be, by troops of the line; also concurrently by justices of the peace, Councils of Notables, and of Agriculture. These have their respective functions assigned to them when cases arise which may require them to interfere; and are also all generally charged with the duty of giving activity to agriculture and preventing its decay, repressing vagrancy and disorders of every kind, and giving effect to the various provisions of the rural law. They are besides to make periodical reports to their superiors, which are all finally to centre with the president, so as to exhibit a complete view of each property, of the nature of its tillage, and of any changes in its cultivation, with lists of its population. The rural police is also charged with executing the regulations as to the making and repair of public roads. (Ibid. p. 340—352.)

Such then is the present rural code of Hayti, which has been represented by the advocates of colonial slavery as a more harsh and compulsory system than that which prevails in our islands. Will our planters be content to make the exchange? Will they be content to lay down the cart-whip, and to resign their arbitrary power of punishing into the hands of magistrates, acting agreeably to clear and defined laws? Will they be further content to adopt as the basis of their legislation the following principle of the Haytian constitution, which forms the barrier against all possible abuse of those clauses in the code

rural, which appear the most coercive, viz., "There can be no slaves on the territory of the Republic. *There* slavery is for ever abolished." Again, "The law is the same for all, whether it punish or protect." If so we will at once close with them, and gladly consent to their retaining and exercising over the labouring class, every coercive power which is conferred on the Haytian proprietor by the Haytian law.

But quitting this part of the subject for the present, it may be well to ascertain if possible what has been the effect of that system of rural police, which, with slight variations, has prevailed in Hayti, as we have seen, since the year 1794. That previous to the invasion of the island, by Leclerc in 1802, it had produced the best and most prosperous results, is proved by the concurrent testimony of all our witnesses. That fatal invasion changed the scene, and after two years of warfare, conflagration, and massacre, during which, all cultivation, except in the mountains for the necessities of life, was annihilated, and all buildings for agricultural or manufacturing purposes, either destroyed by fire or otherwise left to perish, Hayti remained for some time, of necessity, in a state approaching to utter desolation. Even when the government and the people could at length turn from their more pressing necessities to think of resuming the cultivation of sugar, and of other exportable produce, on any large scale, how discouraging and almost hopeless, nay, except in a few cases how almost impracticable, must have been the attempt! Were they on the plains to re-erect the sugar-works, and to replant the canes, which another invasion might destroy in a moment? Their very safety seemed to require a different policy, even if they had possessed the means of reviving sugar culture to any great extent. Although therefore the government gave all the encouragement in their power to its revival, and renewed the laws for regulating labour, and insuring to the labourer his proportion of its fruits, it is obvious that but comparatively few establishments of that kind could be formed with any hope of advantage. The government, at the very time that they held out such encouragements and re-enacted such laws, saw the necessity of looking to other means of reviving industry, and securing the general comfort of the Haytians, than that of drawing them to form those large establishments which had formerly been alone thought of as the means of prosperity, but which, under the existing desolation, and the universal extinction of capital, it was vain to expect could be but very partially re-established with the slightest prospect of early benefit. They adopted therefore a new line of policy, suited to the peculiar exigencies of the case, not only by allotting, to superior officers, large portions of land on which to renew, if they could, the former establishments, but by liberally giving smaller allotments to such of the cultivators as desired to become proprietors, and to cultivate the soil not for others but on their own account. Accordingly, we are informed by Mr. Mackenzie, on the authority of testimony on which he relies as correct, (p. 106,) that the Haytian government saw it to be their true policy to make a general distribution of confiscated lands; and thus, "by the wisdom of the government, the mass of the nation became proprietors." And this is represented as the very circumstance which



"constituted the national strength against all attempts at invasion, every individual having property of his own to defend." In corroboration of this evidence, we have the following statement from Mr. Mackenzie himself, as the result of his own actual observation, "The system of dividing the land into small allotments, in every part that I have visited has certainly had the effect of rendering it exceedingly difficult to collect hordes of labourers, as each individual can either find, or to collect to find, abundant occupation at home." "The consequence is, that it is very difficult, if not impossible to carry on sugar cultivation to any extent." (Ibid. p. 94.) By these farmers, he adds, (p. 105) "poultry are cultivated, and poultry and cattle are raised for home use."

This, however is a state of things which Mr Mackenzie seems to deplore as a proof of retrogradation in improvement! He mourns over it, though it be a state which assimilates the condition of the Haytian peasant to that of the English yeoman, and he desiderates in its place the collection of the people into large gangs, in order to prosecute, by the collection of labour, the growth and manufacture of sugar. But such a course, though in itself very unreasonable, was to be expected from a person so familiar with Colonial slavery, and so much interested in upholding it, as Mr. Mackenzie.

We have now, with the aid of Mr. Mackenzie, brought our historical view of the progress of *Haytian agriculture*, or to speak more correctly, of Haytian legislation on the subject, to the period of the acknowledgment by France of Haytian independence—that is to say, to the year 1826. The effect of that measure, as exhibited in the present state of Haytian civilization and improvement, we must ascertain from other sources; and we have satisfaction in being enabled to communicate to you in a series of letters from a gentleman who repaired last year to Hayti for the purpose of examining the actual state of society and to Hayti that interesting republic, and who is now journeying there in the manner of that object. The whole of his researches may probably appear before the public ere long in another shape. In the mean time, we must submit ourselves to a few sketches, drawn from the communications of this traveller, which may serve to introduce our readers into a more full view of Haytian society, so far as it concerns our present purpose, and to prepare them for a more formal and systematic view of this people, as it exists in its various relations and aspects, natural, civil, political, and moral.

#### *Recent Communications from a Traveller in Hayti.*

*Port-au-Prince, island of Hayti,  
June 25, 1830.*

"I arrived at Port-au-Prince on Wednesday the 16th instant. As this letter is intended merely to communicate to you that I am at last at my destination, I shall not attempt any minute description of either the city or its environs.

"Be aware that this city had very recently suffered greatly by fire,

I expected to see an unsightly waste of ruin and decay, but the lots are rebuilt, and many a splendid and substantial edifice, surpassing those to be seen in the city of Kingston, in Jamaica, has arisen, as the first fruits of the security which property enjoys by the recognized independence of Hayti. As the style in which these buildings have been erected is very peculiar, being neither copies of the old city, which never exhibited any thing but mean wooden houses, nor erections of a taste derived from the old colonists, their external appearance and internal economy will serve to shew the social progress which this people are making under the influence of their new political condition. If this single feature in the appearance of Port-au-Prince has created in my mind agreeable disappointment, the condition of its numerous negro inhabitants, in their domestic comfort, in their manners, their social deportment, and their habits of order, has not less pleasantly surprised me.

"I have yet, of course, seen little of the inhabitants of *the country* except what is presented to my view, by those frequenting the markets. The market on Saturday, which extends over to the Sunday morning, presents an assemblage of people who have no affinity with the labouring population of the slave colonies, but that which they derive from their common African origin. There is the black skin and the woolly hair, but there is an elevation of character in the features, which indicates the working of better motives than fear and submission."

"Some writers have affirmed that the intractable idleness of the Haytians has led them to consult their ease in all things. If this be so, we cannot but admire the operation of the motive in the preservation of that robust health and vigour, which it seems to secure to parent and child, through the diminished toil they enjoy, and by means of the possession of numerous well trained and strong limbed asses and horses, on which they are seen riding to market, and bringing down a prodigious quantity of agricultural products for sale. The excellent training of the ass, called here the *bourrique*, excites no less admiration than his large size, and the sleek and glossy condition of his make. As his great utility secures him from ill-treatment, he is neither slow, stupid, nor headstrong. Teams of from three to six tied together trot on unstimulated by word or blow from the owner, who rides on one animal, with perhaps his wife on a second, and his lusty and helpful boy on another. The herds of these animals must be immense."

"My curiosity has not been confined to what I can see in the streets of Port-au-Prince only. I have made an excursion or two just out of town, to the little cottage settlements on the side of the mountain above the city. I am told that in the 'ancient Regime,' that is the phrase here for the old state of things, the plains were a source of so abundant a return for the industry of the proprietor, that the mountains in this neighbourhood were comparatively neglected, so that the "Camp des Fourmis," the range of hills so called, extending from Point Lamentin to the Cul de Sac, were heretofore never cultivated as they are now. At present they are covered with a thousand small settlements appropriated to coffee and provisions, and fruits and vegetables, in which the advantages of irrigation, presented by the frequent springs bursting from the mountain ravines, have been diligently attended to in their agricul-

tural economy. The water is trenched over the sunny surface of each projecting irregularity of the ridge, and height above height, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen; or the substantial country-seat of the Haytian merchant, with its baths, bowers, and terraced gardens, has been erected. I shall not here descant upon the fact so well known, that an article of the Constitution declared that, "*au premier coup de canon d'alarme, les villes disparaîtront, et la nation se levèra;*" but it is clear, that this circumstance alone must have been sufficient to influence the small proprietors in fixing their locations, even so near the city and seat of government, in the mountains, rather than in the plains, fertile as they are. But if *le Camp des Fourmis* was the old colonial appellation for this ridge, it seems to have been prophetically given. Its swarms of men and women, youths and maidens, and strong-limbed children, every where seen around the cottages, or fetching water, or washing linen at the springs, renders it a most significant name. Mr. Lloyd, a European merchant here, inhabiting a most luxurious but unostentatious retreat, among the small cultivators, gave me, in an evening's ramble among them, a highly characteristic account of the numerous inhabitants of his district. On the death of Christophe, the exciting alarm-gun, that sound for which every Haytian ear, dreaming or awake, is eternally open, was heard from the batteries about the city. Instantly a thousand armed men ready dressed and accoutred for the field, descended from the steeps, as if they crept from the very crevices of the mountain. Every track-way poured forth its warriors. That single sight convinced him that the country was lost for ever to the domination of a European master.

"I will just briefly notice that the planters here concentrate their agriculture in little space. They take off a crop of corn between their canes, and plant peas, potatoes, (not the *pomme de terre*, but the true *pâtâta* of the Indians,) and maize on the same field. They gather their peas before their potatoes are fit, and dig the potatoes before the corn ripens and shells its grain—so that much is effected in very little compass. Food of all kinds, animal and vegetable, is four times cheaper here than in Jamaica."

"On Sunday morning, (20th instant) at 7 o'clock, his Excellency the President, was pleased to appoint me an audience. I passed through the portico of the palace, lined with the officers of his staff, into the hall of audience. Faces of the deepest black, to the lightest shade, were among them; but the black was the most predominant. The saloon of the palace is a room of excellent proportions, lofty and long. The floor is of marble, in varied compartments; the furniture tasteful and elegant, but not rich. The Secretary-General, who was there to receive me, had just introduced me to the officers in waiting, when the footsteps of a person moving over the floor of an adjoining anti-room, announced the approach of the President of Hayti. His person is small, his manners perfectly easy, and his deportment graceful. He was plainly attired in the costume of a general officer, the only mark of particular distinction being his shoulder belt or bandolier, which was of embroidered crimson velvet. His address was unaffected and friendly. He seated me by him; welcomed me to Hayti; and expressed, in particular terms, his approba-

tion of the object which led me on a visit hither. He gave me the assurances of his esteem and confidence, to which he was pleased to say he felt I was entitled, by the high recommendations contained in the letters I had presented to him."

"The city of Port-au-Prince is built on the declivity of one of the off-sets of a mountain on its south-side, called le Camp des Fourmis. It is situated just at the point where the mountain gradually descends, and loses itself in the extensive plain of the Cul de Sac. As it extends over the regular surface of a hill of moderate elevation, it exhibits to the traveller approaching it from the sea, an unsightly appearance of high roofs and low built houses, forming a back ground greatly detracting from the otherwise beautiful aspect of the new buildings by the shore, with their arched galleries, piazzas, and turrets, called Belverideres. On the heights above the town are constructed a line of batteries." "The streets are spacious, and placed at right angles."

"The old colonists secured a copious supply of water by an aqueduct, which conveyed to the town a stream from the upland springs. That aqueduct, with several large fountains, erected in the market and other squares, to distribute conveniently the essential element to every quarter, still administers to the household wants and uses of the inhabitants. Open courses on either side of the street, in the paved channels, receive the surplus stream; but it does not flow rapidly enough, nor descend in sufficient abundance to aid the police regulations for the observance of cleanliness, yet the streets are kept free from all filth, and their general condition is very good.

"Port-au-Prince, though by no means a handsome town, is, at this day, in style, and one may say in splendour, far superior to what it was in the colonial period of its history. With the wealth of a commerce derived from the resources of a mighty empire, and the elegance of a highly refined people, commanding multitudes of slaves to fertilize and embellish it, its ancient appearance was poor and unprepossessing. In the early period of its settlement, the houses were constructed of stone; but the overwhelming destruction sustained from an earthquake, led to a municipal regulation, by which it remained until lately a city of low, and unostentatiously, if not meanly erected wooden buildings. The frequent calamities to which it has subsequently been subjected from fire, and the immense and valuable property lost in the years 1820 and 1822, by such devastations, have led the Haytians to attempt providing against the two-fold liability as they expressed it, of being *bouleversé et incendié*. They have commenced re-erecting some of the houses destroyed by these conflagrations, with stone, or brick, cased over wooden frames, at once to sustain the shock of the earthquake, and to repel the action of any fire. They cover too the roofs with tiles or slates, rather than shingles, and erect their stores for merchandize with fire-proof terraces, and wrought iron windows and doors. These buildings have galleries, and arched colonnades with heavy cornices, and balustrades screening the roofs, and floors of variegated marble and tiles, in the upper as well as the lower stories. If continued generally, they will render this city, not only one of the most elegant in the West Indies, but one in which the houses will exhibit an interior economy, the very best adapted to the

necessities of the climate. The marble terraces of the upper floors are delightful. The sensation of freshness they create, while adding to the comfort of the body, give an appearance the most gratifying and tasteful to the eye. The decorations are appropriate. The rich and variegated mahogany of the country, is manufactured into elegant furniture by the artizans here. And the French taste of gilded mirrors, or molu clocks, and porcelain vases filled with artificial flowers, impart to the dwellings of the simple Haytian citizen, an air of refinement not unworthy of Europe. These edifices are the first fruits which the security of property has yielded since the recognized independence of Hayti. About fifteen of the houses have been erected within this last two years, and about thirty others, equal in size and internal convenience, but not alike cased with stone and brick, have also been built. The lofty pyramidal roofs of these buildings are finished with the sort of turreted sky-light called a Belvidere, being intended for the purpose of ventilation, as well as for a look-out; and while adding greatly to convenience as a dwelling-house, gives an architectural effect to the town, at once handsome and picturesque.

"The social progress which the Haytians are making, under the influence of their new political condition, will be best appreciated by contrasting these evidences of their domestic state with the numerous buildings of the old city that yet remain; whatever may have been the wealth of the old colonists, whatever their refinement and breeding, the external appearance and internal economy of their ancient houses, exhibit an extraordinary disregard to all taste and elegance." "If such was the ancient city in its time of colonial prosperity, we cannot wonder that the Haytian, not in the insecurity of their independence, for that, nature, by the barrier of mighty mountains, had placed beyond all risk of being overturned, but in the insecurity of property by the lee shore, daily liable to destruction from the hostile armaments of France, should be contented to inhabit the old city, not merely without attempting to improve its architectural appearance, but at all times prepared to leave its enemies nothing but its ashes. As soon, however, as the acknowledgement of their independence, by the once sovereign state, placed them beyond the necessity of resorting to that system of desperate defence, which, by the fiftieth article of their constitution, has been made an essential element of their liberty, 'that at the first sound of the alarm gun, the towns should disappear, and the nation should rise in arms,' houses have been erected of elegant character, and of permanent materials. All the prudence which a long futurity of peaceful possession suggests has been attended to in their construction. We see, in these facts, the sure evidence of the country's progress in the arts of civilized life. Unhappily, however, the little wealth of a people who, *estimating liberty above all price*, had been contented to endure poverty in their sacrifices to possess it, has been greatly dissipated, if not wholly swept away, by the ruin so recently suffered by conflagration. One third of the city, eight years ago, fell by the destructive element. Industry has in a great measure repaired this calamity, but the marks are not entirely obliterated. Ruined walls are still visible, and the absolute poverty entailed on many families of comparative

opulence, and the diminished fortune of those heretofore esteemed rich, have retarded the progress of this better spirit.

"Few public objects in Port-au-Prince offer claim to more than cursory notice. The palace of government is large and convenient, but not handsome. It is of one story, and situated in front of the parade, to the south-east of the town. Its entrance is up a fine flight of steps, leading through a spacious portico into the hall of audience. The floors of all the public rooms are of black and white marble. The furniture is tasteful and elegant, but not costly. This building, the residence of the governor general of the ancient colony, was constructed with more attention to convenience than effect. The apartments are pleasantly cool. Its situation, at the edge of a fine plain beneath the mountains appropriated as a review ground, is unobstructed by buildings on either side. It has spacious gardens around it, which secure it the agreeable influence of the sea and land breezes at all times, early and late.

"In front of the entrance gate of the palace, near one of the fountains of the city, with a single tree of the *Palma Nobilis* growing beside it, is the marble tomb of the President Petion. It is a plain edifice, containing the remains of one, who, by his genius, perseverance and valour, having saved a people, has given to a simple shrine the lustre and importance of a costly and splendid mausoleum. The Haytians, in their deep affection for his virtues, never speak of him, but with an epithet—as, "Their father Petion," or as, "The man who never caused a tear, but when he died." (*Il ne fit couler des larmes qu'à sa mort.*)"

"In a temporary shed, not far distant from this tomb, are sculptured marbles for a superb mausoleum, lately received from Europe, which it is said will displace the existing one, but, consecrated as this is by early associations, it is to be hoped that it will be preserved as a sacred relic, standing where it does. The humble character of the present fabric, erected in the poverty and infancy of the republic, renders it, like the widow's mite, not less worthy or less acceptable, than splendid offerings out of the abundant treasury of the rich, since the people who built the simple shrine, gave freely all that they possessed in the midst of penury and distress.

"To the north east of the town, in a line with the terraces and fountains, erected in front of what was formerly the residence of the intendant general of the ancient colony, stands the church, a plain humble building, having a flight of steps at the western entrance, and encircled by a wooden gallery. It is neatly fitted up within, arched and supported by square columns, but without any pretensions to architectural regularity."

"The senate house is one of the new buildings just completed. It is well proportioned. The façade has a pleasing effect, though of no architectural order. The projecting front is a pediment containing a sculptured bas relief of the tree of Haytian liberty and independence. It is the *Palma Nobilis*, surrounded with military trophies. The ground floor is erected with an arched roof of masonry, supported by columns; and contains the senate-hall, with side galleries, for the public. In the upper story are the Bureaus. This house has not yet been opened for

deliberative purposes. It is graced by a full length portrait of the Abbé Gregoire, in his episcopal robes.

"The Lycée, or public college of the city, is also one of the newly erected edifices. It is a large plain building, supported on a row of arches, and has a convenient extent of garden attached to it. The entire ground floor comprises the school; it is of large dimensions, cool and airy.

"The new custom-house, with its warehouse and quay, has been commenced some time, but little progress is as yet made in completing it."

"The mint, and secretary of state's offices, are neat buildings, but not large. These are among the number of ancient edifices. The arsenal was destroyed by an accidental explosion, in 1820; nothing but the workshops exist. There are no magazines. The prison is well arranged. It is judiciously ventilated, and watered by two fountains; and has a garden within its walls. The military hospitals have nothing to excite particular attention.

"The public fountains are reservoirs discharging their surplus waters through convenient pipes." "The octagonal basin in the city market, is neat, and surmounted with an elegantly formed Grecian vase. The terraced pond for horses up the town, is highly useful and convenient. When the government shall be able to carry into effect their determination of removing the unsightly slates that surround and deform the market-squares, and erect a substantial circuit of simple sheds on durable columns instead, the effect will be elegant. At present, all their intentions in the erection of useful and ornamental public works, sustain a complete paralysis, by the draining which their treasury suffers from the French indemnity.

"The city of Port-au-Prince covers a large space of ground. It is certainly nearly, if not quite, as large as Kingston, in Jamaica; being a full mile in extent, from the portal of St. Joseph to the barrier of Leogane; but it is not estimated to contain more than from twenty to 25,000 inhabitants, whereas Kingston contains from thirty to 40,000, a slave community permitting the free to have about them many attendants, so that each house is more numerously tenanted."

"There are excellent public baths in Port-au-Prince, hot and cold, the tepid waters are those which common experience has established as best for the purposes of health in this climate.

"The frequent ornamental cottages embellishing the upland slopes and little plateaus of the mountain side, which arrested my attention as the ship approached the harbour of Port-au-Prince, rendering me eager to view them near, have led me to become an early visitor amid their quiet and sequestered scenes. If their first aspect impressed my mind with a picture in which were to be found variety and beauty, a visit to the spot realized all the anticipations I had formed by adding to the exuberant fertility of the soil, and the pleasing variety of the surface, the comforts of convenient and even splendid habitations. Rivulets, bursting from the mountain side, were seen winding their transparent courses, through artificial channels of mason work, so arranged, for the purposes of irrigation, as to spread perpetual refreshment and fertility through the vegetation of fields and gardens. Here and there at convenient spots,

the waters were gathered in wells beneath embowered thickets of fruits and flowers. After filling a reservoir at each dwelling for the purposes of a family bath, whose refreshment might be sought amid the concealment of twisted jessamines and roses,—or the rich dense canopy of the large granadilla passion flower, in which the thick purple blooms were broken by the red panicles of the Tahitian rose, and the white tufts of the frangissance, and of the resida or the tree mignonette, they poured their surplus waters from one terrace of the declivities to the other. The dwellings were essentially cottages, with opened and embowered galleries around them. They were large, convenient, and well furnished. Where the roofs were finished with the picturesque belvidere, so well adapted for the purposes of ventilation, the external scene of a sort of Venetian turret arising amid clumps of tropical trees was very pleasing. The floors were of chequered marble, or of the ornamental tiles so common in the houses of Paris. The out-offices, such as the kitchens, stables and servants' residences, diversified by occasional trees, were spread about, and increased the appearance of substantial comfort. There were the residences of the Haytian functionaries, the foreign merchants, and the more substantial indigenes, who drew their wealth from the trade of the city, and sought here a change of air, and quiet repose for themselves and families. The extent of each of these little farms was ordinarily not more than fifteen acres, and seldom exceeded twenty. Their products were limited to a copious supply of fruits and vegetables, for their own domestic use, and of corn and grass for their horses. The difficulty of obtaining hired labour does not enable those who could command capital to attempt any cultivation beyond what is required, for their own family economy, in this sort of occasional retirement.

“These villas of the more opulent inhabitants are not without their neighbourhood of small independent cultivators. The patches of corn fields which spot the forests of the mountains, the thick groves of the Bananas which line the hollows of the steep, and the shrubby breaks of coffee trees which here and there diversify the luxuriant vegetation of hill and valley, are the agricultural wealth that conceal the domestic haunts of the Haytian husbandmen.—It is only when the traveller opens some angle of the ravines, that he sees the cottage itself, situated on some small plateau within the hollow, and commanding its own stream of clear and limpid waters, trenched along the upland surface of its own little quiet property for the purposes of fertility and refreshment. The frequent gusts and tornadoes which sweep along the abrupt descents of the mountain, have taught the farmer of the torrid zone, the necessity of making his provision grounds within these sheltering hollows, as the Banana (*musa paradisiaca* et *sapientium*) the staff of life to the great portion of mankind within the tropics, like all deciduous plants, never rises from where it falls, but rots as soon as the winds injure its stem, which is but a frail net-work of cellular water cavities, these plantations in the sheltering hollows and ravines, are a necessary part of the cultivator's economy. The situation which gives security to his food from the casualties of storms, offers the best protection for his own thatched cottage.—He builds it therefore, by necessity as much as predilection,



within the cool sequestered valley of the mountains, and finds there in preference to every other place 'health in the breeze' and 'solace from the storm.'

"The cultivation of the range of mountains from Point Lamentin to the valley of the Cul de Sac, on the south side of Port-au-Prince, is, at this time, much more extensive than it ever was in the period of its colonial history. The *plains* were a source of such abundant profit for the industry of the proprietor, that the *mountains* in the neighbourhood were comparatively neglected. At present they are covered with a thousand small settlements, appropriated to coffee and provisions, and fruits and vegetables, in which all have secured for their fields the advantages of irrigation, under the surveillance of a *rural police*, which regulates diligently the arrangement and proper keeping of these important water courses. On the very spots where Christophe, as recently as in the time of the nascent republic of Petion, after clearing away brushwood and forest-trees, planted his batteries, and unsuccessfully invested the city, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen, or the substantial country-seat of the Haytian merchant has been erected. All these are new plantations. Dr. Pinckard, in his Notes on the West Indies, when speaking of the vicinity of this city, as it appeared in 1797, observes, that 'villas, pens, and country-houses, at a short distance from the town, are far less numerous around Port-au-Prince than Kingston in Jamaica. The merchants,' he remarks, 'do not leave their dwellings, but content themselves with a single establishment, making the house of business their constant and only place of residence.' But now "le Camp des Fourmis," (the mountain so called), once so tranquil and untrodden by the foot of man, that its forests and caverns successfully concealed the arms, and covered the early assemblies of the revolted people of colour; has now, as has been already observed, as if its ancient appellation was prophetically given, its *swarms* of men and women, youths and maidens, and strong-limbed children around its cottage settlements, and by the borders of every stream that issues from the mountain side."

"There is a greater equality in the stature of the *black inhabitants of Hayti* than among the people of those colonies in which various African races are yet perceptibly traceable. We do not encounter many persons extraordinarily tall, and many others that are small but well proportioned. The prevalent average of height is about five feet ten inches among the men, and the women, considered relatively, are taller. They are well formed, round and firm of limb, seldom corpulent, but never thin;—they are generally strong and muscular, active in make, and vigorous in body. Their features are essentially African, yet the thick lips, the large mouth, and the flat nose, less prevail among them than a certain moderate proportion, which gives no special prominence or largeness of form to any particular lineaments. Their eyes are fine, their countenances quick and intelligent, and their teeth preserve the hereditary peculiarity of Africa, of being always well set, regular, and beautifully white. Their upright, athletic make, and habitual consciousness of freedom, reminds the West Indian of the Jamaica Maroon. There is the same mien—the same gait—the same impression of liberty. The

evidences of age so seldom appear verging beyond fifty years, that a person, inspecting minutely the companies of their soldiery, as they muster on the Sunday morning, would take them all for the "elite" of their youth. The fact is, the old have really passed away. The civil discords of the country, twenty and thirty years ago, yielded such a harvest of death, that those who were sufficiently matured to take part in the contests have been cut off, and a young race of inhabitants alone exists, among whom servitude, and the cruelties of unrequited labour, are tales of former times. If one sees, occasionally, aged men or women in the streets, be assured that the dishonouring traces of slavery are indelibly written in their aspect and their manners."

"In dress, the people of the country, as well as town, appear in general attentive to their attire. The prevailing colour of the female clothing is generally some bright tint, either distributed in broad stripes, or forming a ground of yellow, blue, or red, diversified by large flowers. Their head-dress is the graceful turbanet of the Madrass handkerchief. This sort of tiara, which is peculiar to all classes and gradations of African and European blood, whilst contrasting admirably with the shadowy complexions of these tropical climates, combines at once economy and elegance. Nothing can exceed the propriety of this costume, both as it regards its use and appearance. A light kerchief invariably covers the bosom in door and out, with this difference, that when the person walks in the sunshine it is drawn up, and held half across the face, until scarce more than the eyes appear, as a screen against the excessive heat. Umbrellas are used as a shelter for the head, but no bonnet is in use among them. The covering of the men is the shirt of blue or pink-coloured check, and the trowsers of sheeting. Sometimes it is simply the trowsers of sheeting, over which is worn a short frock of the same material, drawn close, and bandaged round the waist with a coloured handkerchief. The head is *generally* among the men as it is *universally* among the women, encircled by the handkerchief. The shoe, manufactured from the leather of the country, is in common use, and forms an extensive and lucrative source of handicraft industry. Along the piazzas of the shops a large display of this requisite of personal convenience and comfort, in the traffic of the market-day, shews the extent to which shoes are in use. Government has laid a prohibitory duty on the importation of those ready made. The shoes of Haytian manufacture are of superior workmanship, and, at the present rate of exchange, average from 4s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. for the men's; those for the women are lower priced."

"There is certainly an elevation of character in the countenances of this people which indicates, as I have before observed, the workings of a disposition excited by better motives than those of fear and submission." "A general courteousness and decency prevail among all classes of the people in Hayti. Shut out from all intercourse with the neighbouring colonies, and enjoying no contact with European society, but through their communication with the few mercantile residents in these parts, they have, notwithstanding, acquired a very remarkable air of civility and respect; and yet their acquaintance with the manners of civilized life is very limited through this last channel. The foreigners

domiciled among them are, in most instances, without European wives or European families, and have rather acquired the manners and sentiments, and adopted the habits of the society in which they have been placed, than modified in any respect those they found already existing.

"To me," says our traveller, "who have had an opportunity, from my birth and long residence in a slave colony, of forming by comparison a correct estimate of this people's advancement, the general quiet conduct, and respectful behaviour of all classes here, publicly and privately, is a matter exciting great surprise. No community however well regulated can present an aspect of greater order and tranquillity than Port-au-Prince. The quietness of its streets is never disturbed by scenes of riot, debauchery, or indecency. If one goes to the fountains where women, men, and children, are congregated in crowds, one's ears are never outraged by the language of quarrel or obscenity; in the markets all is conducted in peace, with good faith, and mutual courteousness.

"The Haytians very justly observe, that whatever questions may be raised as to whether their life is one of well directed industry, or of carelessness, sloth, and ease, they can point to the fact that there is impressed on the people the habit of good manners, and of attention to their personal appearance, as a striking circumstance within the reach of the most superficial inquirers. As it neither arises from any system of severe police, nor is stimulated by any peculiar diligence on the part of religious instructors, the influence of *public* devotion not operating beyond the precincts of the Towns, it can only be ascribed to the elevation which liberty gives to character, and the increase of happiness and social comfort which this regard to character incontestably establishes. The decent demeanour of the people was the first remarkable feature in Haytian society, which struck the benevolent mind of Robert Owen, when he landed from the English packet at Jacmel. After noticing the habitual sense of propriety, which he found every where existing, he declares, and he has written his declaration, that he seeks in his theory of human happiness and prosperity the attainment of no greater felicity for mankind, than he found possessed by the inhabitants of Hayti. It was this opinion which induced Mr. Owen's extraordinary disciple and co-adjutor, Miss Frances Wright, to visit this country recently, and to place in the hands of the president of this republic the thirty redeemed slaves she had purchased in America. Let a person look down on the streets of Port-au-Prince in the morning, when the families crowd around their windows and doors to enjoy the first burst of fresh air, after their rising from repose, and he will perceive them to be early risers, and observers of great neatness in their attire, even at this very first coming out to their domestic avocations. He will see them too observing something like a proper sense of religion, by their frequent going forth carefully dressed to the daily matin service of their church, and on their feast days and holidays, by their thronged attendance at public worship. In the evening as they sit beneath the humble galleries of their public streets enjoying the relaxations of the day, and forming, around the doors of their quiet homes, little gaily dressed conversational groupes, with fine, healthy, lively, and well-fed children around them, let a stranger as he passes them, and gives and receives the customary good evening, look

at the order and cheerfulness of their dwellings, and he will perceive that the free mould in which this people are cast is stamped with something of the moral as well as the physical blessings of liberty and ease."

We shall be excused for inserting the inclosed anecdote, though it does not quite fall in with our more immediate object in this abstract.

"August 4th. The other afternoon as I stood under the gallery of Mr. Wood's store, a merchant of Port-au-Prince, I felt very much interested in seeing a blind negro of middle age, clean and neatly clad, who came with an ass-load of coffee bags, that he had been sewing: the kind of labour by which he earned for himself a livelihood. He was attended by his two sons, two stoutly formed children, of so near an approximation in height, that one would call them twins, and reckon their several ages to be about six years. One of the boys held the halter of the animal, and led it onward to the store entrance, the other gave his shoulder to his father's hand, who rested upon it lightly for his guidance, his other arm being raised to support on his head, a parcel of the same sort of bags with which his ass was loaded. The father's hands being both occupied, his little boy had to carry his walking stick, the faithful coco macaque of the Haytian peasant, a weapon of defence little less effective than the sword in the hands of a skilful and athletic man. This he grasped somewhat towards the ferrule, and brandished now and then with the air of a drum-major, replying as he went on to some remarks made to him by his parent, but having withal an infantile carelessness in his demeanour, as if he scarce listened to what was said. The other lad who had the ass for his companion, had it also for his conversation, he spoke to it familiarly when he wished to turn towards the right or left, and between the two such a mutual understanding of good will subsisted, that the words were a sufficient substitute for blows at all times. In a minute or two they all stopped beneath the piazza.—Each seemed to know from a constant habit, the office he had to perform.—The father threw from his head the sacks.—The son that guided him untied them, and delivered them over to be counted.—The boy with the ass proceeded to slacken his gear, and to unload him; the father to carry the bundles within the store.—The ass stood quiet; stretched his leg and scratched his knee, and then gently shook his sides as he felt himself eased of his burthen.—In an instant each was away again in the same sort of order in which they came, except that the father took his walking stick and stepped on with confidence, having his hand still on the shoulder of the little son that guided him as he came, and now guided him as he went away. The blind man is reputed for his activity and acuteness. He knows every body, and every thing, and every where. On remarking to him that he was happy in his misfortune in having two such youths to assist him, he observed that he felt so, for they were indeed a help to him. But his better fortune did not rest here; he was happy in being the inhabitant of a country in which no man claimed him as a property, and tasked his person in his heavy visitation with uncompensated toil. How different would he have been in his affliction in a slave colony? No inducement would have been created to overcome the disadvantages of his condition, by one rational exertion for the supply of his own wants, but many to compel those who held him in fee,

to do it for him and in his dependence to neglect and starve him into the bargain. His children would neither have brought consolation nor help to him. They would have been scourged and worked for the service of any other than their parent. The tie of filial affection would have been broken. He would have been a father without sons, and they sons without a father. This man had lost his eye-sight in the performance of his duties as a soldier. He was now worthless to his country as a soldier, but he was still useful as a citizen. He earned his bread by his own industry, and he brought up his children honestly. He gave to the commonwealth those in whose hearts, duty, affection, good humour, and the pride of self respect, would work for individual and for public good. I do not record this instance of industry, and well applied exertion of the senses under their partial deprivation as an exception to a general rule. In Hayti I have found at every step of my travels evidence of the positive blessings of freedom. Its beneficial influence is so broadly written, both morally and physically, that he that runs may read, and I have written this as a sort of extreme case, that one may the better judge, of those that are intermediate. I found from Mr. Wood's statement that this man in his blindness could, without assistance, earn as much as eight dollars a week by sewing bags; making a sum equal to four hundred dollars in the year."

"I have frequently been surprised, amused, and gratified, at the facility with which the people of this infant country, can rise above their condition, assume the demeanour of courteous life, and act with a natural ease, an unrestrained feeling, in all the thousand incidents of a mixed company, as if the best social intercourse had formed their habits from their youth upward. It is, perhaps, the only country where you shall take the artizan, his wife and children, the petite bourgeoisie and the grizette of the boutique, and whether in the ball-room, or in the free sociality of a fête champetre, you shall see an affability, and frankness so polished and spiritual, as to surprise a stranger. Mr. Owen observed this when he went on shore at Jacmel, in his way to Mexico, and thus speaks of it. 'It was a religious holiday—every thing was new to me, and more new in consequence of its being the first free coloured population I had ever seen. It was better dressed, cleaner, more orderly, and more mild and polite in its demeanour, the one to the other, than any working or trading people I had ever seen in any civilized country. There was more urbanity in the expression of countenance than I had witnessed in Europe and America.' But you shall find this sort of habit not alone in the towns, but diffused through the country. I have, when travelling, come suddenly upon a cottage settlement amid the forest, and have been greeted by the bows and curtsies of the children, with a grace, ease and confidence, which shewed that it was an every day complaisance, and not depending upon their intercourse with cities, or their sight of strangers."

"No one who knows the events which placed Hayti in the list of nations, and the long warfare which fixed thousands of soldiers in dependance on the productive labour of the country, oppressing, but not destroying it, checking, but not wholly arresting its progress

sive improvement, but must see that she possesses an army not to be cashiered when she no longer demands its services. A course of reduction since the treaty with France was, however, going on. It worked safely, because it was prudently restricted to the dismissal of those who were free from motives of unambitious repose. Men who had a foretaste that a citizen, living by his own industry, and in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, was really in an enviable condition of life, being instigated by those better motives, which preferred the profits of agricultural labour to the meagre pay, the thievery and licentious idleness of a soldier, daily asked their dismissal, and daily obtained it. This mode of disbanding the army was a prudent avoidance of all evils. The number of operative citizens was increased by men of the best moral quality, while the army was composed of those whose very habits placed them most judiciously under the surveillance of military discipline. As the service, however, was regulated by the fifth chapter of the Code Rural, with a view to its assisting in the tillage of the country, by permitting the soldiery to work with proprietors of plantations by the week, by the month, or by the year, at contracted prices; binding them to aid in the labour connected with the conduits for irrigation, with the wells, cisterns, fences, and enclosures of gardens and savannas, and the general maintenance of order, without additional payment; and allowing them to fill their guard duties, by substitute, at a regulated stipend; it operated as a never-ceasing creation of fit objects for the usual congé for dismission.

"Such a system was working silently and well; 40,000 troops had been already reduced to 28,000, when the ill-timed reclamation of Spain for the eastern part put the country in an attitude of preparation for war, and arrested at once all further reduction of the military force. It is now occupied in marching and counter-marching through the republic without seeing an enemy, depriving the plantations of that labour which the system in practice has made a part of the exigencies of agriculture, creating ruin in districts from which the force is deducted, and loss in those to which it is added; at once impoverishing the provinces, and exhausting the treasury. A security against that disposition to the military system growing out of a long life of war, is now delayed in its progress, but there is no doubt that it will be eventually attained."

"Hayti has injured herself by venturing to secure her acknowledged independence from France for a sum so overwhelming in amount as 30,000,000 dollars. The sum itself is enormous, and the peculiar period at which the event has taken place operates forcibly in aggravating the evil. It blights her destinies as a commercial country, just when her agriculture was reviving—when the people were appreciating the conveniencies and luxuries of civilized life, and when her institutions were being formed with the habits of a riper experience. Her tranquil and useful progress among the free nations of America is retarded. Her hope of revival consists in that undying spirit which secures her liberty from ever being annihilated.

"Previous to this deplorable occurrence all the disjointed parts of the island had been united; her means had been so developed that

she could safely count on her revenue for all exigencies. She could have reduced her army, and by increasing the discipline of a less force, when she had no internal enemy to grapple with, render them for all threatened invasion a still more effective resistance than may be hoped for, 'from the hills and from the multitude of the mountains.' The inherent desire of her inhabitants to improve their condition was already putting the government on the salutary policy of a reduction of duties, that by the relinquishment of every burthensome impost, the things needful and convenient might be placed within the reach of the bulk of society. The mass of the population bore the evidence that a sense of propriety and a more cultivated taste, was daily extending and daily stimulating their wants. An eagerness for articles, known by her agricultural people at no previous period of her history, was generally diffused, and luxuries so merged into the necessities of life, that ultimately it was deemed discreditable to be without them. In this quiet and satisfactory advancement of an improving population, the French indemnity came, as a tributary exaction to burthen and oppress every individual. Men were to pay in money for what they had already earned in blood—contributions were to be levied for a measure universally obnoxious—three of the principal towns refused their quota—districts assumed the attitude of revolt—the security of property was shaken—its appreciation diminished—its labour unsettled—the public murmurs became deep and loud against the pusillanimity of the government, and those who could not escape the tax sought to lessen the oppression by assuming such an appearance, and adopting such an expenditure, that there should be no pretext in the state to increase the exaction." \*

"July 19, 1830. I am about to visit the plains of the Cul de Sac. The result of this visit will be given in my next."

"Before the revolution had changed the fertile plains of the Cul de Sac to a wilderness, they were so watered and enriched by cultivation, that they exhibited one scene of perennial verdure—straight roads and pathways, bordered by the citron, orange, and campeachy wood, intersected the lands—sugar works spotted the surface at certain distances; their numbers at the same time giving them the appearance of being near to each other. The spacious residences of the proprietors fronted the highway. The avenues which led to them

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\* Our traveller, adverting to the statement of Mr. Mackenzie, so much at variance with the official returns of the census of 1824, which made the population amount to 935,000, while Mr. Mackenzie affirms it, in his Report, p. 86, to be only 423,000, remarks that this gentleman's "Notes on Hayti," (Vol. II. p. 113 and 114), seem to furnish a solution of the discrepancy. It is true that 423,000 was about the number who were called upon to contribute to the French indemnity, but this number comprised only those who were capable of labour, whether men or women, and excluded the young and the old. But for these exceptions, and had the tax been forced on every head, it is obvious that the tax would have pressed most heavily on those who were burthened already with numerous families of infant children. As a proof of this, the number set down as liable to pay the tax in Port-au-Prince was only 9163, though Mr. Mackenzie must have been aware that this was not nearly half of the population of that place.

were adorned by trees and flowering hedges, and the frequent gateways, scarcely more than four or five hundred paces apart, presented incessant scenes of the busy people, stirring within and without them, while horses and cattle, waggons and chasses traversed the roads, almost without intermission, by night and by day. The mansions of those who commanded this fertility and abundance were, however, not lofty. They rose only to the height of one story, with a threshold elevated above the surface of the soil by a slight terrace, and encircled by a wide gallery, around which clustered the rich and fragrant blossoms of the tropics, imparting to them an aspect rather of rural comfort and ease than of stately pomp and costly elegance. They were not of mason work, but being built of wood and plaister, on account of the frequent earthquakes, during the revolution they soon fell to decay, or rather, what the fire did not destroy, time demolished. The store-houses, and works of the estate, such stood contiguous to them, were, however, more solidly constructed. These, crumbling into ruins, near clumps of the ancient garden trees, sufficiently indicate the vestiges of the power and wealth of the former masters of the soil, and the beauty that now lies desolate.

"The scene presented to the view of the traveller, however, who quits the city of Port-au-Prince, to journey on the highway to the mountains that divide this plain from the valley of the Artibonite, through a wild waste, is not solitary. On the road he will meet a multitude of cultivators coming to the city market, with horses and asses loaded with provisions. He will see waggons with produce drawn by teams of hardy and healthy cattle, speeding past him. He may conclude that the people come from the mountains above the plains, but the waggons and their produce must be from the plains themselves. If he departs from the high road, and turns to the right hand through one of the woodland paths, that he perceives diverging to the upper end of the river, to the mountain glens, or to the banks of the inland lakes at the head of the plain, he will find himself entering into open grounds, covered with verdant fields; he will see traces every where visible of renewed cultivation, mansions re-erected; aqueducts re-conducting their streams to irrigate the land; the sound of water-mills at work; and cottages no longer deserted, but tenanted by labourers once more issuing from them to gather in the harvest of the teeming soil. Where the wild jungle occasionally breaks in on the restored hedge-rows, if he observes, he will find it affording herbage and shelter to numerous horses and asses that belong to the husbandmen of the districts, and make part of the economy of the plantation.

"On the morning of the 22d July, in company with some half dozen friends, I paid my first visit to these far-famed plains. The day-break was faintly streaking the sky beyond the mountains, when we passed the portal of St. Joseph, and saw before us the steep, bold summit of the Morne de Grand Bois, rising majestically into the dawn. The road stretches along the declivity of the sterile line of marl hills, leading to the celebrated Pont Rouge, a simple wooden bridge, painted red, where Dessalines was surprised in an ambuscade and killed; about two miles further is the pretty habitation of Drouillard, one of the



estates of the President Boyer. The lawn in front was parched, but the fields to the rear looked green and fertile. It is a sugar estate, commanding a supply of water, for mill-work and irrigation, from some of the upland sources.

"On advancing into the forest, we see the water-mill and sugar-house of Cazeau in ruins, overgrown with wild vines and rank herbage. A little further on, before we cross the Grande Rivière, we arrive at a straggling village of cultivators' cottages, with gardens and provision grounds, recently cleared out of the forest, and, hedged in, form a sort of bourgade by the side of little streamlets. Passing these, we come to the Grande Rivière, flowing frettingly over its bed of stones, a small, unsightly, shallow stream, that divides itself into frequent parallel courses, making many river islands. The bounds over which its winter inundations sweep, are an arid and stony desert. When we had got about three leagues from Port-au-Prince, we found ourselves at Croix des Bouquets, at present a large scattered village with little of either fertility or vegetation around it.

"This once celebrated town of the plains was occupied chiefly by the artisans, who enjoyed a source of constant and profitable employment from the wants of its agricultural neighbourhood. Its numerous coloured population—its proximity to Port-au-Prince—its situation in the centre of the immense plain of the Cul de Sac—gave it a most fearful importance in the first shock of the revolution. It was here that the inhabitants of the mixed race, when every enterprise of liberty had failed elsewhere, found themselves sufficiently strong to contend in arms for their civil and political rights, and to obtain them by victory.

"We entered the ancient Bourg in an open space, where, of old, stood the town market. Every where, amid the wild vegetation, traces of its former tenements were perceptible. The streets were laid out at right angles; and, from the distance to which their vestiges extended, to the right and to the left, before and behind, the town must have been large, and its destruction complete. We found groups of well dressed females, all apparently black, gathering under some trees to attend the matin service of the church close by, and loitering to gossip and enjoy the freshness of the opening day. The church itself, a rude edifice, as simple as a country barn, stood within the protruding remnants of its old walls, having a wooden cross, a substitute for the ancient Croix des Bouquets, erected before its entrance. At a little distance onward to the north, was the old fort, with its circular bastions, built by the English during their struggle when engaged in the war between the French planters and their slaves. On the line of the old streets, many a substantial new house was rising into existence. The frequent thatched cottages seen among them, were a reparation of old residences. A municipal regulation at present exists, which prohibits the re-construction of any tenement of quality less than shingled houses. The village at the Croix des Bouquets is again rapidly rising into the importance of a town, but as it stands within the stony district which borders the Grande Rivière, its immediate vicinity will never exhibit much tillage. Cultivation is, however, increasing through the plains, and gardens are seen intermingled with the cottages in the town. The

establishment of the sugar plantations is restoring the ancient villages of husbandmen, and the shopkeepers already thronging to the Bourg to supply the neighbourhood with the cotton manufactures of England, the wines of France, and the linens of Germany, are gathering there the busy stir of life and industry. Petits cabarets are open in the market-place, and shops for miscellaneous merchandize, are very general through the village streets."

"Before arriving at Dignerou, the farm of Mr. Roper, about three miles further on, where myself and a party of friends were to sojourn for the day, and partake of the hospitality of the house, we passed patches of cultivation near some of the old water courses, but they rather served to shew than to relieve the apparent desolation around us, and the solitude into which we had again entered. On turning up to the right hand from the road, we entered the farm of Dignerou. Its yards, with horses and cattle feeding, and sheds, with ploughs, waggons, tumbrils and harrows, presented to our view something like the existence of the systematic tillage of Europe. Dignerou is a plantation of one hundred and thirty acres in extent, of which, however, scarce more than thirty are in cultivation. The greater portion, not reclaimed from the kind of wilderness to which it was abandoned in the revolutionary wars, presents an appearance little less than that of an arid and unprofitable desert. Towards the southern extremity of the lines, where the fields receive the waters of the Grande Rivière from the old Basin de Distribution, in common with the neighbouring properties of Baubain, Morinière and Caniere, Mr. Roper has subjected thirty acres of enclosed land to the experiment of plough husbandry.

"These thirty acres are cultivated with the care and economy of an English farm—a plough drawn by two horses, directed by two American labourers, a man and boy, and superintended by himself, suffices to keep them in perfect cultivation. A road for the cart passes right through the centre of his fields. To the right and to the left are extended his grass lands, with his divisions of yams, patata, manioc, and corn. To these succeed his plantations of cane, intermingled with alternate rows of corn, of a later growth than the preceding, and lines of patatas. There is an obvious advantage in this mixture of other productions with the sugar-cane, as the maize and the patatas require, at certain seasons, inspection and care, the time and attention bestowed upon them is necessarily so much management devoted to the cane also. Its growth becomes matured by a free circulation of air. It thrives unincumbered with weeds, and as the dried leaves, which wither as the joints of the sugar-cane rise up, would check the corn, or impede the vegetation of the patata, they are stripped off, and thus the cane receives an attention equal to the care required by the plants alternately growing with them; something like a rotation of crops, too, is secured by this method, and the soil kept from exhaustion. All the productions are put in with the plough. This implement, at one place, in turning up the soil opens the cane holes, and at another drills the trenches for the maize and patata.

"A strong saccharine juice circulates in the succulent vegetation of that species of convolvulus called the patata, rendering it an important

article of food for horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, in the economy of a tropical farmer. This name, assigned it by the Indians of these isles, has been improperly transferred by the early English navigators to the *Solanum tuberosum*. The distinction has always been properly preserved by the French and Spaniards. When this convolvulus, whose leaves closely cluster over the ground, has put forth its pink blossoms, giving the fields an appearance not unlike that of red clover, the tops, day after day, are cut, green and fresh for the stied hogs and the pen-fold cattle and horses. The farinaceous bulbs, that cling like excreescences to the roots, are now fit to be taken up. On the farm of Dignerou the all-useful plough has been brought in aid, to disengage them from the earth in which they are embedded. In the instance of our visit, Mr. Roper exhibited to us its practical operation in unearthing patatas. As it turned up the furrows of the soil, so it bared them to those who picked them up. Two persons followed with a basket, and collecting the patatas, cast them into a light cart that advanced with the ploughman through the field. Nothing could be conceived more expeditious and effectual than this system. The work that was done in five minutes must have required the labour of an hour of the usual mode of the hoe. The harrow was afterwards brought to pulverize the soil, to disengage whatever might remain in the furrowed clods, and to rake out the weeds, which were thus collected with facility, dried in the sun, and burnt on the spot. I tried the plough with my own hand, and though unskilled in this sort of labour, found it perform its work with perfect ease.

“In the process of irrigation the usual cast of the furrows formed intervals for the streaming waters. When small canals were required to be cut, the plough performed the office of channelling the earth. The waters flowed from the sluices through the beds where they were required, and a temporary dam of the loose mould confined them where necessary, or excluded them where they were not wanted. The soil being rendered thoroughly porous by the arable process to which it was subjected, plentifully absorbed the refreshing moisture, so that every leaf of herbage, in a season unusually droughty, had the appearance of enjoying the influence of perpetual showers. The bananery was not in this part of the plantation, but immediately adjacent to the farm-yard; a wilderness of acacias, used as a sort of common for the horses, asses, and cattle, stretching between the fields and the farm.

“Beside the canal from the Grande Rivière, Dignerou was watered by a small duct from the Rivière Blanche, the lands being situated between the two streams. It was this rill that supplied the house and distillery with such water as was necessary.

“The old sugar-mill was still in use. It was for cattle, the tread being a circular ridge of mason work. It had an extremely rude appearance from being composed of the boulder lime stones collected from the bed of the Grande Rivière, the only quarry of these plains. It was substantially built, but, with the usual economy of the old colonists, it was without a covering, so that the people formerly worked, and the cattle travelled in the open air night and day, at one time exposed to the heat of the sunshine, at another to the chill of the night dews, (see

Malenfant's work on St. Domingo, p. 167.) Under the mass of wall forming the head of the mill, there was built a cachot or prison, a dark unaired dungeon for the refractory slaves of the old regime, a specimen of the severe discipline of the ancient colony. To the right and left were recesses for the fires when the dark set in, the means used to supply light for the night labour.

"The boiling-house had but three boilers, and manufactured only syrup, which, if carefully clarified in the process of making it, fetched in the market two dollars of Haytian money a quintal (a cwt.) These, at the present rate of exchange, are scarce five shillings sterling. The same weight of syrup, when distilled into rum, realizes three dollars and a half, making an additional 50 per cent for the additional labour. The old iron boilers were in use, but, notwithstanding all the economy of using the old mill and the old materials, the difficulty of procuring labour to take in the crop and grind it off, rendered the returns scarcely adequate to the rent and charges. Mr. Roper, in conjunction with a Mr. Lucas, were renters of this farm for a term of years, from Col. Rigaud, who had purchased the sequestered property. A quantity of cattle, horses, pigs, sheep and poultry, gave it the appearance of being essentially a farm, an appearance increased by the system of cultivation, and by every subordinate circumstance, such as the make of the carts, and the well-fitted neat harness of the horses, which worked the vehicles two abreast. Mr. Roper holds other cane lands in the vicinity.

"As this visit gave me the first insight into the ancient process of irrigation, I shall describe it here. Though considerable labour had been bestowed by the ancient colonists in commanding for these plains a supply of water from the rivers that flow through them, the process was extremely simple, and the works by no means expensive. When a stream of sufficient magnitude had been drawn from the river immediately at its source from the mountain glens, a spacious canal was dug in the earth at the intersection of a line of estates, extending from the uplands to the sea shore, which received the descending waters. At intervals regulated by the proximity of each plantation to the principal fosse, a small reservoir was constructed in mason work, called a basin of distribution, into which the waters were gathered, and then divided through smaller ducts in the direction of each proprietor's land. Every duct was of a dimension relatively equal to the surface of the plantation intended to be irrigated. The quantity to each was adjusted at the embouchure of the reservoir by square blocks of stone placed at stated distances to divide the water into the cubic measures to be allowed them. The rural surveillance regulated by the public was limited to the canals which passed the stream into the border of each estate; the proprietor being left to distribute the supply afforded him in any way which his own judgment best dictated for agricultural economy. The upland estates which possessed a sufficient fall of the stream, had aqueducts erected on them commanding an overshot of water for the sugar mill; but those in the centre of the plain, where there was little irregularity in the stream's descent, being constrained to the use of cattle mills, merely distributed what they received into rills through gutters

and trenches. There were proprietors who collected the water in the first instance into tanks of 200 feet in length, and 8 or 10 feet deep, which they overshadowed by groves of bamboos or other close foliage to protect them from being exhausted by the sun's rays, and this secured a resource for every exigency whatever. There were others again who accomplished the same ends by paying largely for a greater number of cubic inches of water than they were entitled to receive from the general reservoir. In the districts where cultivation has been renewed the dilapidated aqueducts have been repaired, the canals reconstructed, and the basins of distribution restored. In all these instances, whatever had fallen to decay has been sufficiently redeemed from ruin, to shew precisely the labour as well as the means used in the ancient process of irrigation.—*Malenfant*, p. 279.

"I returned to Port-au-Prince in the evening, determining in the cloudier month of August, when occasional showers should refresh the exhausted wild herbage of the plains, and somewhat soften the severity of the heated atmosphere, to renew my survey of the agriculture at present existing in the Cul de Sac.

"On the 5th of August, I again journeyed to the plains, and visited a friend L'étoile, the ci-devant Dumornay Laboule, the Guildiverie, or distillery plantation of Mr. Jaquemont, a European merchant of Port-au-Prince. The lands are held on lease for a term of years, and comprise 36 carreaux, of which only about 20 acres are as yet in cultivation. This establishment is not only one of the completest for its size in Hayti, but perhaps one of the most perfect in the whole West Indies. The alembic in use is the most approved kind of still recently adopted in France, in manufacturing the brandies of cognac. Here it is applied to the distillation of tafia, being capable of being turned also with the greatest economy of labour and expense to the making of liqueurs. The distillery is a large, well-erected, tiled building, containing two of De Rome's patent alembics, of 120 gallons each, and which are capable of producing eight barrels of the usual spirit every day. They occupy little space, the coolers being large standing butts, covering two turns of the worm. The pumps fill a butt of 1500 gallons, that is of 24 barrels' capacity, in 41 minutes. There are 18 of these butts, and 6 others of a less bulk, or of 18 barrels in measurement. The plantation which supplies the syrup to be converted into rum has been only cleared and established within 18 months past. The newly planted cocoa palms and enclosures with fruit trees, have not yet attained any elevation so as to give variety to the surface. The soil is an intensely black mould, very light and friable. The plough is to be adopted, the lands are to be supplied with water from the Grande Rivière, and by an engagement with the neighbouring proprietor of Cazeau, it receives an augmentation over that quantity to which it is entitled.

"On emerging, by narrow devious pathways, from the gloom of the sterile forest, we opened on the bright and fertile scenes of Chateau Blonde, an estate of which General Lerebour, the Commandant of Port-au-Prince, is proprietor. We entered a straight, wide roadway of the plantation, having the refreshing verdure of the cane fields, and the dome and turret of the sugar mills before us, and leaving on the left

hand as we passed a small group of cottages, the dwellings of the cultivators. They stood towards the open fields, sheltered only by the vegetation of the banana, and though spacious, were neither uniform nor particularly neat. An aged man repairing the gateway, and one or two fine featured, healthy bodied, cheerful, well dressed negresses, who accosted us with courtesy and passed on, and a couple of little children playing in the dust, were the only inhabitants that we met. The fields extended themselves far away to the right and left covered with canes of considerable bulk. Here and there gardens of the cultivators containing the patata and yam, the maize and the manioc, were intermingled with the sugar canes, forming occasional patches planted with great order and regularity. The Bellcome mountains lowered before us clothed in the rich verdure and diversified with the variety of aspects which the broken cultivation of its many small detached settlements gave to it. The barren cliffs forming the gorge of the valley, through which the Grande Rivière descended, formed a remarkable feature in the distant landscape. Hills of steep ascent and of vast altitude rose to the clouds, dark, shadowy and hazy, forming a back ground to the tilled fields in which the dark leaved abricot and the plumes of the palma nobilis in the gardens of Chateau Blond, seemed almost the only trees that relieved the transitions from the plains to the mountains.

"The proprietor's residence, and the mills, and boiling house, with the aqueduct, a canal of wood, supported on columns of mason work, form altogether a quadrangle enclosing the workshops of the estate, such as the smithy and place for the mill wright. On the left hand of the enclosure is the polygonal dome erected over a steam sugar mill of eight horse power, turning horizontal rollers; while to the right stands a water mill with vertical ones; between them is the boiling house, with a turret in the centre. The whole of these buildings are of mason work, and constructed not merely substantially but elegantly. The aqueduct on one side, and a balustrade stone fence on the other, shuts in the quadrangle. Within this space may be said to be the sugar works. The proprietor's residence, a neat cottage edifice erected on a platform of terrace work, with many a flowering shrub around it, and with the usual accompaniment of the embowered bath formed of the close coup d'air (a species of convolvulus), clustering with its lilac tinted silver blossoms, overlooked the whole economy of the mill yard. The whole estate contains ninety carreaux of land, about two hundred acres, the principal portion of which are planted in canes, the rest in provisions. About two hundred men, women, and children in all, are located upon it.

"The island of Jamaica does not exhibit a plantation better established than Chateau Blond: whether we consider the resources of the land, or the mechanical economy by which those resources are commanded, it is a splendid establishment.

"Every thing is new,—the mills, the boiling house, the aqueducts, the cottage residence, all are the productions of a few years of slow but constant labour unassisted by any pecuniary loan, or unincumbered by a mortgage. In the difficulty of obtaining a number of labourers to get in the crop of an estate, the proprietor of Chateau Blond has decided that it will be judicious to accelerate the speed of the boiling house, by

increasing the products of the mill. With this view he has availed himself on either hand of water and steam machinery, it being easier to boil quick, so as to check fermentation, than to grind quick so as to give full occupation to the boilers. As these mills do their work simultaneously, the souring of the canes by accumulation is avoided.

"The machinery of this estate, erected at very considerable expence, is designed not merely for the supply of its own wants in the elaboration of sugar, but for those of the neighbouring plantations which may be without the means of manufacturing that article. The mulcture, to use an old feudal term, paid to the proprietor of the mill, is one fourth of the inspissated juice, when boiled into the syrup of the third copper. The law limits him to one-fifth in his contracts with his cultivator, but with any other class of persons he is at liberty to bargain as he can. In the fore part of the week during crop time they cut their canes, and grind them off when a sufficiency is accumulated. The labourers, men and women, in the mill and the boiling house, perform their work occasionally by night as well as by day. Their scheme of cultivation is to allot themselves by families, and to cultivate unitedly one division of the estate, receiving the reward of their labour in a portion of what they cultivate and manufacture in their division, according to the prescriptions of the code rural. It frequently occurs that the number of persons, thus associated, are not able to proceed with sufficient celerity in the work of grinding and boiling the proceeds of the number of acres under their management and tillage, in such case the gangs are obliged to hire help from their neighbours, or from the other gangs who have no part in their allotment. In this way the work is conducted in Chateau Blond. There is in this arrangement, which has originated out of views of interest and convenience in the cultivators themselves, so much of calculation individually made, so much of contract mutually entered into, that it would be the highest absurdity to suppose that such men underwent any thing in the nature of labour stimulated by any other compulsion than that of the advantage they reap from it. I record this declaration as a sentiment expressed to me by one of the managing cultivators, who communicated answers to my questions, and conducted me over the property. They select their conducteurs\* as an association would their chairman, or a benefit club their secretary and treasurer, not to drive them unwillingly to labour, but as one deputed to manage their collective interest in their bargain with the proprietor of the soil. As I had expressed a desire to see something of the domestic habits of the people and of the economy observed in their houses, the friend who accompanied me to Chateau Blond walked with me under the heat of the mid-day sun among the plantation cottages. They are so habitually civil and polite in this country that the intrusion of a stranger on such an errand as a mere visit of curiosity would have been readily excused, but we were spared the necessity of soliciting any indulgence by a negress who sat at the door of her dwelling requesting us to retire from the sunshine into the coolness and shelter which her cottage would afford us. We found three females of her family diligently engaged in

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\* The planters insist that conducteur means the same as their driver!!

their task of needle work. Beyond the courtesy of a salutation as we entered and seated ourselves in the chairs set out for us, neither curiosity at our visit, nor idle attention to our conversation drew them from their employment. The house was built with a common sitting room in the centre, and two bed rooms at each end. The furniture, beside chairs, consisted of a table on which were articles of earthenware, and shelves on which were other household utensils. The sadlery for their bou-riques was hung against the wall towards the entrance of one of the bed rooms, a mat and goat skin were spread upon the floor, upon which the infant of one of the daughters was sleeping. A compliment to the healthy lustiness of the child (and it was one which it justly merited,) brought us by a natural transition to the question of the number of the family. The father was seated beside us,—but as we were anxious not to run the risk of false facts respecting population by receiving the accounts of the offspring of the men which might be by more women than one, we directed our inquiries to the mother. We found that these cottagers were then about forty or forty-five years old, that they were the parents of thirteen children, eleven of whom were living, that seven were daughters, three of whom were married, and the mothers of five children in all; that their husbands were at their avocations in the field, as were also the male portion of the family, but that the plump fine limbed little girls whom we saw coming in and out of the cottage were the younger part of the children. While we were seated here the plantation bell sounded the summons of two o'clock, the signal for such as had occupation to resume it.—Instantly we heard the carpenters' hammers and masons' trowels renew the sound of labour, and every one without any altercation or a murmur were again busy at their appointed toil.

“The children and the young people of this estate are uncommonly fine looking. In many instances their features and their hair betrayed a slight mixture with the blood of Europe; a person of any experience at all in the characteristic traits of West Indian countenances, knows that those grades called the *Sacatra*, the *Griffe*, and the *Marabon*, the lowest combinations of European mixtures with the peculiarity of body and complexion of Africa, are very delicately featured, and have a full silky head of hair, not crisp, but curly and glossy. This sort of emerging from the African original is very common in Hayti, and I think on the estate of Chateau Blond, I saw one instance as beautiful in face as exists any where.

“Beyond the cottages is seen one of the ancient aqueducts, apparently in excellent condition. The only dilapidations it had suffered seemed to be in the trough for conducting the water, which was filled with the earth of decomposed vegetable substances, and overgrown with grass. Its elevation was found not to give a sufficient fall, and General Lerebon preferred constructing in a more convenient situation, the present aqueduct which occupies a line of five hundred yards. The water of this district is supplied from a stream of the *Grande Rivière*, drawn off at about a league's distance.

“Proceeding southward from Chateau Blond, we approach the low sterile hills, covered with *lignum vitæ*, ebony, and aloes, which protrude



themselves from below the mountains of Bellcome and La Coupe, and here bound the plain. Our road lay between rich cane fields, bordered on either hand with hedge rows of the campeche, leading to Moquet, the sugar estate of Mr. C. Lacombe. The cottages at the entrance of this plantation were of very large dimensions—stout healthy children were playing about them. The water flowed in many a rivulet about the grounds, and a quantity of poultry, such as geese and turkeys, were feeding every where. An archway through the aqueduct brought us into the mill yard, and to the proprietor's residence, a large and handsome terrace and marble floored cottage that overlooked the whole plantation. The mill, the boiling house and aqueduct, were a reconstruction of the old works, but the distillery was new, being then only in process of being built. From the situation of the sugar works on a gentle declivity, the boiling house had been erected on arched cavities, which extended under the yard, and enclosed the furnaces, forming a place for such cane trash as might be immediately required for the fires. On account of the very considerable fall of the stream, and the sudden rise of the land, the water mill was so constructed that all machinery was concealed from view under a terraced floor beneath the level of the mill yard. Nothing but the three vertical rollers were to be seen in the building where the people ground the canes, so that the whole place looked roomy, clean and compact."

"The proprietor of Moquet, Mr. C. Lacombe, is a white individual. Having held untainted his fealty to the condition of general liberty, through all the vicissitudes of the revolution, he is entitled to every civil right, even by the inhabitants of St. Domingo, at the time of proclaiming its independence.

"Before unsaddling our horses, with the intention of resting for the night at Moquet, we had seized the opportunity, while yet there was an hour of departing sunshine, to ride out and view the cultivation of the adjacent estates eastward. Well-trimmed hedge rows lined the public road on which we travelled, and I heard with interest, that these were the enclosures of some small sugar farms, the subdivisions of a concessionary grant to a military person, whose family had now parcelled the inheritance in little properties. They had their separate cottages sheltered by the luxuriant foliage of the shrubs and trees that administer food and refreshment in the tropics. They depended on the mills of their wealthier neighbours for the means of converting the crop into a commodity for sale, and in that dependance tilled their little fields, with a sure reckoning of their sugar proceeds, beside what they reaped in the shape of corn, yams, patatas, manioc, grass, and green vegetables for the weekly market.

"We turned from the principal road into the cane fields of Dumornay-bellevue. The sugar-house and mill formed a very indifferent establishment, but the cane fields were extensive, and the frequent gardens of the cultivators large and excellently managed. We saw the women and children in the fields tilling their separate allotments. The differing species of vegetables severally occupied different divisions of the surface, around which a '*bordage*' of the mould formed with the hoe, received and retained the water, whose rills poured a constant

stream around the precincts of the entire garden. The rich depth of the stoneless soil—the fresh verdure of its productions—its systematic tillage and irrigations—gave an appearance of great order and care to the agriculture of the peasantry. In the fields we found a parcel of men and boys at work, cutting canes for the mill, under the direction of the conducteur. They were not drilled in lines, but were working indiscriminately, and singing like merry reapers at a European harvest.

“After making our inspection, the last gleam of sunny radiance along the green surface of the level plains warned us to Moquet for the night. Visiting, however, before we quitted this estate, the cottage of the conducteur or foreman we had seen in the fields, we had an opportunity of remarking the domestic condition of another family. Three of the sons, mere boys, had returned from their day's labour, with baskets of provisions from the garden, and bundles of herbage for the asses and stied-hogs about the cottage. The wife had been engaged all day, at the door of her dwelling, in ironing up the linen of the family, which she was then carrying within the house. Every thing had the appearance of substantial comfort, and, if we wanted an evidence of its accompanying wealth, we had it in the alacrity with which our cottager drew from a bag of money forty dollars, for a purchase effected for him by the friend who had made this visit with me. I found, upon inquiry, that he too was the father of thirteen children, all alive, five of whom were then before us. I was informed that Dumornay had been greatly mismanaged: producing no revenue to the proprietor, it netted of course none to the cultivators who had worked on halves, and were abandoning it, as they were at liberty to do, under the provisions of the code rural, to seek more lucrative employment elsewhere.

“Aug. 6. By day-break we proceeded to quit Moquet, on our journey to Dignerou, the plantation of the treasurer-general, Mr. Nau. M. Lacombe, and his party of friends, being on an intended visit to the French consul, at his cottage, in the mountains of La Coupe, and our road laying partly the same way, we set out together, a large cavalcade of travellers, and surprised Monsieur Senator L'Espinasse, nearly in the humble checked camisette of a cultivator, busily engaged in the work of his sugar refining and sugar distillery. It was a superb manufactory, erected on a concessionary grant of ten carreaux, partitioned out of the ancient estate of Moquet; a grant he had earned by services to his country. His own plantation of Soissons adjoined to the northward. The refinery is built just where the low range of hills, at the fort of La Coupe, merge into the plains. There the sterile uplands cease, and the fertile lowlands commence. Monsieur L'Espinasse himself conducted us over the whole establishment. He exhibited both in his manners and words an enthusiasm for the commercial and agricultural progress of his country, which shewed that his own success in drawing forth its resources, under great obstacles, was less a circumstance of gratification for its individual good, than for its general influence on the spirit and enterprise of the population. He was a remarkable man, possessed of that kind of energy of character, which fitted him for great enterprises in a young and aspiring country. It was by the elasticity of a

disposition, unchecked by reverses, that he was enabled, through great toil, to bring his manufactory to its present state of maturity and profit. The sugar with which his refinery is supplied is entirely drawn from his adjoining estate. The establishment is very large. On the respective floors of the building we saw the process of claying the raw or muscavado sugar, and that of refining it, and forming it into the lump sugar of commerce. We observed some loaves, whose whiteness, dryness, and transparency, and smallness of grain, shewed the matured perfection of his process—an art which he boasts to have acquired in a country where almost the simplest elements of sugar making had been lost in the anarchy of the revolution, without any insight into that of other countries. His liqueur distilleries occupied a portion of the same premises.

“We did not stop at Soissons, but heard its mill at work, and saw the thick wreaths of ascending fire and smoke from the boiling-house, a little way from the road-side. The frequent thicket of fruit trees in its vicinity, sufficiently indicated the comfort, if not the splendour, of the old colonial property.

“In the country districts of Hayti, where no churches exist, there are yet spots devoted to the sepulture of the dead. These consecrated places, adorned with many a memorial of affectionate regret, enjoy a kind of special sanctity from associations of love as well as religion, and turn aside many a pilgrim, there to offer his evening and morning incense of prayer and praise. One sees frequently, in the mountain pathway, crosses adorned with chaplets of fresh flowers, just placed by the hands of affection, as the matin sacrifice of a holy passion that survives the cold oblivion of the grave. By the road ascending to La Coupe and Bellevue, under a kind of grove of forest trees, is one of these public cemeteries. Tombs and crosses are there seen decked with many a fading tribute of fresh-gathered blossoms. It looks a pretty, wild, secluded spot, and the chequering of the white tombs with the shadows of the pendant foliage, at the first view, excites a sense of melancholy beauty; but the charm vanishes upon near examination, and the offering of early flowers, or coffins in mason-work, under canopies, painted with most provoking minuteness, and ornamented with hideous death's heads, is at once destroyed in all its sentimental charm, by the existence of puerility and bad taste. It was here we took leave of our friends journeying to the mountains, while we, continuing our travel in the plains, found ourselves in half an hour at Dignerou, the plantation of the treasurer-general.

“Lands newly denuded of their forest shewed the continual progress of cultivation. We crossed the Grand Rivière, wide, stony, and desolate, having in view the dark mountain gorge, through which it poured its waters to the plains. A sort of unproductive common stretched through half-a-mile of our road, where asses were feeding, and geese swimming in the narrow rills. Clusters of green trees, heavy and leafy, that rose along the edge of an elevated line, told our approach to the fertile scenes of Dignerou. Ascending a little broken ground, we beheld before us the long aqueduct on circular arches; in the groves of mangoes, oranges, avocados, and other fruits, that, contrasting their verdure with the dark and rugged mountains, or diversifying the bright

level space of the outstretched plains, formed green walks and shadowy bowers. Beside it the proprietor's dwelling, a new, spacious, and elegant edifice, terraced on a gentle rise, was in front of the mill and boiling-house. The gardens were extensive. Its avenues rich in umbrageous foliage and fragrant blossoms, gratified the senses and soothed the feelings with enjoyment and repose. The water-mill was similarly constructed with that of Moquet. There was here the busy stir of labour. Carts were rapidly passing and repassing with canes from the fields. The mill wheels were rolling on with their still, dull sound of rushing waters; while horses, asses, mules, cows, and sheep, pressed eagerly around the feeding places for the skimmed refuse of the boiling-house.

"This estate comprises three-fourths of the original plantation, esteemed of old one of the largest in the Cul de Sac, and reputed at this time to be one of the best tilled in this district. There are about fifty families, or two hundred persons, young and old, as cultivators upon it. Its annual proceeds are 150,000lbs. weight of sugar, and 50,000 of syrup. In 1817 and 1818, it netted about 230,000lbs. of sugar, with a proportionate quantity of syrup and Tafia; but the proprietor, from the very indifferent price of the commodity in the market, chooses rather to diminish its returns than to extend them: one hundred and eighty acres are in canes.

"After amply partaking of the hospitality of the liberal proprietor of Dignerou, in which wines and fruits, both fresh and conserved, formed an excellent desert, we prepared to return to the city. While our horses were being brought up, we visited the cottages situated immediately in the vicinity of the estate's works. We found among them the same abundance of asses and stied hogs, as elsewhere, and received to our inquiries similar results to those previously given respecting the progress of population. In the single cottage we casually entered, we found a well furnished room, in which the table shewed a fair supply of crockery ware, with a large tureen in the centre. There was a like display of saddlery and gear for the market asses, an animal that forms no unimportant part in the wealth, comfort, and ease, of the Haytian peasant. There was a family of nine children. The cottage housewife boasted, with some degree of complacent pride, as she exhibited to us a fine chubby boy of ten weeks old which she held in her arms, that from the period she became a wife and a mother, she had never lost a child. She appeared about thirty years of age, and was an extremely well featured and muscular woman.

"1830. Aug. 7. We had rested at Moquet for the night, it was Saturday morning—all toil on the estate had ceased till the following Monday, according to the regulations of rural rest in the code of agricultural labour. This being the general market-day throughout the republic, the cultivators were stirring betimes to visit the neighbouring town and city. I observed at the door of the sugar works of Moquet, some half-dozen panniered asses, and women and men in their clean market dresses, engaged in the turmoil of apparent traffic. A number of gourds, recently filled with syrup, were arranged on the ground, or placed in the panniers; other empty ones were being filled at the coolers; and for the syrup so supplied, money was received by the manager at the boiling-house door. I found these were the cultivators

of the property who came hither to purchase, for the weekly market, the produce from whose sale they were eventually to draw their division of property. This is the usual practice. The circumstance is important, not merely as shewing in part the demands for home consumption, but as exhibiting, and so it was pointed out to me, a most valuable moral feature in the existing operation of the rural law. As each person draws a share from the entire proceeds of the estate, it becomes each person's interest to see that no part of the property be diminished by theft. Every one is obviously interested in concentrating all his market purchases at the mills at which he derives a relative profit. Hence every week of the crop realizes a cash sale of some part of the proceeds, through the dealings of the cultivators themselves, while a principle of rigid honesty is established in the management of the general concerns. The Haytian proprietor, I am told, never has to complain that the estate is pilfered.

"Our road to town lay along the barren marl hills, through the dreary forest of aloes, campeachy, and *lignum vitæ*, which every where cover them. We had observed, while at Chateau Blond, the palm avenues of Carradeu, to the right, beside these hills. A name so familiar to us, in the history of the ancient regime, readily drew us from the road to witness the triumph of retributive justice in the ruins of this once splendid habitation. The water-mill had been rebuilt, and a poor harvest was being gathered from the cane fields; but Carradeu was, in all respects, a ruin and a desert waste. The mansion where once the lordly master feasted among his friends, and, in the intoxication of pride and power, gave those mandates to his trembling slaves which consigned some to the burning furnace, others to the boiling cauldron, (see Malenfant on Colonies, p. 172, note,) exhibited only in the remnant of walls and terraces, the place where once they sheltered his vice and tyranny. The giant palms, however, whose leafy heads, supported on stems of a hundred feet, old Carradeu, in the frenzy of the times, sought to rival by placing the skulls of some fifty slaves he had decapitated at Auboy on poles by the road-side hedges, still float their green locks in the sunny breeze. (Lacroix, &c.) The aqueduct forms, by this luxuriant avenue of trees, a magnificent line of arches, very picturesquely varied by an octagonal belfry, now in ruins. The sugar-houses were erected for effect with circular towers and are still standing as fine masses in the landscape. There are tumuli and traces of foundations, the vestiges of store-houses and of other buildings of the estate. The orchards and gardens yet yield their annual feast of fruit and flowers, but they shed ungathered sweets in the wilderness. Perhaps the very tree under which, day after day, the old man used to sit and watch the toil of his slaves, and in whose shadowy leaves the negroes believed there was a charm that inspired his ferocity and wickedness, may be found growing green and bright—a harmless bower to less haughty spirits than those of old. There are still existing aged men amid the ruins who attest the truth of the horrid narratives of the days of Carradeu. A furnace for pottery was erected in the gardens of the estate, and visitors who come hither, already tired with marvellous truths, generally mistake this dungeon-looking building, with its little air holes in the stone roof, for some of the prison-houses of the proud old colonist.

"I have frequently, in Hayti, heard the characteristic story which Malenfant relates of this man. Carradeu had taught his negroes, by fatal experience, that they were never to expect forgiveness in his wrath. It was the secret by which he had lived great, was dreaded and obeyed. He had never cut off his right hand by it, but in this instance, he was going to inflict on himself irreparable injury. There was a valuable head boiler of his sugar-house, a man whose knowledge and experience was a source of riches to him, on whom he had inflicted the penalty of inhumation to the neck in the cold earth. This life he was willing and anxious to save, but it was necessary to make a truce between interest and vengeance. This inconsistency would be fatal to his government if he forgave once; the dread which the certainty of punishment had beneficially excited, would lose its effects on the caution and obedience of his slaves. 'I would not,' said he to a party of ladies at dinner with him, 'induce this man, whom I must spare, to think that the pardon for his fault had emanated from me. When I draw my handkerchief, fall down at my feet and ask mercy of me for him. I will say he has obtained it by your solicitation, not by my desire, so that, by being apparently consistent, I may preserve the dread of my unrelenting character with my people.' Carradeu, however, in this instance, had to deal with one as haughty as himself. The courageous negro, who had dug his own grave, chanting his death song while he threw up the earth, felt he had endured a wrong which nothing but death could requite; he only wanted an opportunity of revenge. He saw the prostration of the female guests at his master's feet; he heard forgiveness from his lips for the first time. He could scarcely credit what his eyes beheld. In the delirium of his sufferings he exclaimed, 'You shew mercy to me—it is impossible!—you are no longer Carradeu; but, if you are, I swear by her who took an oath before God for me, that I rest not in peace till I destroy you! Be merciful to me if you dare!' This presumption and despair were fatal to him. Carradeu silenced the threat by hurling a fragment of rock at his head. Having dashed out the brains of his victim, he returned to his convivial friends, saved from doing an action inconsistent with the character he enjoyed, among his slaves, of never having forgiven an injury or remitted a punishment.

"We arrived in Port-au-Prince by eight o'clock in the morning, passing through a numerous train of country people, composed of old and young, aged persons, youths, maidens, and children, all speeding away, on their loaded horses and asses, to the Saturday market. Some had come down from as far as Mirabelais, a distance of fifty miles, to sell and buy for their household wants."

"I had now seen a great portion of the Cul de Sac, examined its cultivation, observed its soil, the deep black earth, and the warm, mellow, hazel-tinted mould. The fertility of these plains is inexhaustibly great—a little effort puts it into a state of tillage, and the facilities of irrigation render it constantly productive. Perpetual spring appears to rest every where; but was it not that the Grande Rivière, and the stream of the Rivière Blanche, directed by the labours of art, pour the refreshment of their waters through all parts of the surface, the soil, with all the advantages of its great natural fertility, must have continued an irreclaimable wilderness. The clouds, attracted by the high mountains

that line the plains to the north and south, seldom shed upon them light invigorating showers. At stated seasons the rains descend, but in such torrents that they wash as well as saturate the soil with moisture, and the rivers, increased into floods, convert the whole district subjected to their influence into a stony and sterile desert.

"Vast as are the resources of the land, properties, when offered for sale, bear comparatively a small value. Its wealth, from the very irrigation required, can be commanded only by artificial means. The difficulty of obtaining labourers, and the great outlay required for the restoration of the old sugar works, or rather for the erection of new ones, renders a great capital an essential requisite in the first instance, in order to the establishment of sugar estates on the ancient system. The people of Hayti, in general, are not sufficiently monied men for this purpose, and as the labourers are paid not by wages, but by a portion of the proceeds, it is evident that whatever occurs in the returns of a sugar estate to disappoint the proprietor, must occasion loss to the cultivator. The progress of sugar tillage, therefore, on the old plan must always be greatly retarded in this country."\*

*(To be continued.)*

#### 7.-- *Concluding Remarks.*

WE must here for the present suspend our extracts from the letters of our correspondent, hoping ere long to resume them. Those which we have selected, or may hereafter select, will be found directed almost exclusively to the object of giving to the public a correct view of Haytian society, and particularly of the actual condition of the Haytian cultivators, (the *ci-devant* Slaves of St. Domingo). Much information is therefore necessarily postponed, which could not have failed to interest our readers. Among a great variety of other matters, we have been obliged almost wholly to omit our traveller's vivid and tasteful descriptions of the singular country through which he has passed, and which for the varied beauty and grandeur, and, we may add, sublimity of its scenery, stands, perhaps, unrivalled by any other region of the globe. But notwithstanding these and other necessary omissions, and the consequent imperfection of the sketches contained in the preceding pages, our purpose in transcribing them would be very inadequately accomplished if they failed to leave on the mind of the reader, an impression of the incalculable benefits which have accrued to the present Haytian race, from even the convulsive and calamitous emancipation of their progenitors from the bondage under which they had long groaned. As for the dreariness and desolation which now deform the beautiful plains of that island, these evils are clearly to be traced, not to the decree of the National Convention abolishing slavery, but to the faithless, flagitious, and detestable attempt of Buonaparte, to reimpose the yoke which that decree had broken. But for this act of perfidy, what might not the French nation have gained?—Nay, what might not the ancient proprietors themselves have gained by an unswerving adherence to those solemn stipulations by which freedom had been guaranteed to the

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\* Our subsequent extracts will contain an account of successful sugar culture in Hayti, not on the old plan, but by single families, as in Benga.

slaves in St. Domingo? And who can very deeply regret the retribution which has followed in the destruction of the property of the French planters, and in their total and final expulsion from that splendid possession?—But have the blacks, who survived the war of extermination which was waged against them, or have their descendants, any cause to mourn over the issue of the conflict? If they have gained nothing else, they have at least gained immunity from the cart-whip. They have gained relief from the arbitrary inflictions which lacerated the quivering flesh and writhing limbs of themselves, their wives and daughters; and from the coerced labour which reduced them beneath the level of the beasts of the field, and embittered and wasted their lives with its unsparing exactions. Their wives and their children are now their own, and no man now dares to make them the reluctant victims of his lust, or forcibly to tear them, for his own sordid ends, from the shelter of the domestic roof, and to burst asunder the dearest domestic ties, in order to transfer them to strangers. These evils, and many more which are familiar to our readers, as having characterized the lot of the St. Domingo bondman; and which, unhappily, make the colonial slavery, existing in the dominions of the British crown, one of the foulest blots in the creation of God,—a curse alike on those who inflict and on those who endure it;—these evils, and many more, have been swept from Hayti for ever by this change. Nor let it be supposed that this is mere idle declamation.—Only open the statute book of Jamaica.—In the single enactment which there intrusts to every one who owns a slave, or is the delegate of such owner, the power of inflicting on the bared body of any man, woman, or child, without trial, without the intervention of a magistrate, for no defined offence, and without being even bound to answer for his conduct, *thirty-nine* lashes of the torturing cart-whip, we may see an epitome of the horrors of the system; a system of which the hardening influence on the human heart is such, that even this bloody and ferocious law is regarded by the legislators of Jamaica as a demonstration of their *humanity*. Its very object is declared, in the preamble of the enactment, to be to *restrain* arbitrary punishment. Nay, of this very enactment, the West India Committee, sitting in London, composed of English gentlemen, with the Marquis of Chandos at their head, scrupled not, in February, 1830, to declare, in the face of the world, that they regarded it as an ameliorating provision, in which they recognize the “*humane dispositions*” of “the colonial legislatures!” (See Reporter, Vol. iii., No. 59, p. 188, and No. 60, p. 205.)—Then, if this be the law, the vaunted, the cherished law of the legislators of Jamaica, explicitly sanctioned by the approbation of the West India body in England, what may we assume will be the practice? On this point all question is obviated. The masterly work of Mr. Stephen, which has recently appeared, has, on the evidence of planters exclusively, dispelled every doubt as to the innate, malignant, and incurable cruelty and iniquity of *that practice*—incurable at least except by its utter extinction. Or if we even turn to the single Reporter of the 15th of February last, (No. 76,) we may there read, in the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Trew, and other witnesses, equally respectable and equally competent, the proof of its necessary and inseparable abominations.



Now these abominations have ceased to exist in Hayti. *There* the chain of slavery, and of that worst of all slavery, the slavery of the skin, has been broken. *There* the negro stands erect in all the dignity of man, and is freed from the fetters which, in our islands, the very colour of his skin still winds around both body and soul. *There* black may now be regarded as the dominant colour, and well has it vindicated its right to be so. Still however we do not find that the freedom which has been so gallantly achieved is regarded as an exemption from labour. Their labour indeed may not be, as in our Islands, excessive. But it is productive of abundant, and it would appear, growing means of subsistence. Want seems unknown among these emancipated Haytians, and the rapid progress of population attests the absence of oppressive exaction, and the prevalence of physical comfort, as strongly as the lamentable waste of negro life in our own colonies establishes the existence of a condition wholly dissimilar. The civil and political institutions of Hayti may be imperfect, and may tend to retard among its population the rapidity of their advancement in the arts of civilized life; and on this part of the subject we shall have something to say hereafter: but who can have accompanied our traveller in his interesting view of Haytian society even in its lowest grades, without feeling a glow of satisfaction in the calm and peaceful enjoyment which it exhibits as the actual portion of this long oppressed and afflicted race?

And may not a state of similar enjoyment be realized in our own colonies without those convulsive throes which have *there* issued in the expulsion of the former proprietors of the soil, and in levelling with the dust all the monuments of their ancient but abused dominion? We think it may. We think that it is in the power of the British parliament to attain the good, without the evil which, in Hayti, has either preceded or followed it, or may still adhere to it. The civil contentions and convulsions which agitated Hayti were not, be it remembered, the work of the slaves, but of their masters, by whose instigation alone were the former led to mingle in the strife. The English invasion which followed was literally a crusade for restoring the cart-whip, and it ended, and we rejoice that it did so, in defeat and disaster to the invaders, and in fixing for ever the freedom of the slaves. But have the emancipated blacks abused the liberty which they thus achieved? There is no proof of it: all the testimonies we have cited tend to a directly contrary conclusion. They resumed their labours, and Hayti again flourished in peace and prosperity, until the perfidy of Napoleon Buonaparte again clouded the scene. But would the freedom which was thus awarded to them, in the midst of tumult and disorder, by a dubious, unsteady, changing, and anarchical government, we ask, have been attended with greater, or even with any hazards, if it had been conceded to them in a period of tranquillity, and guarded by all those prudent restraints and precautions which a wise, and stable, and upright government like our own, would have had it in its power to adopt? The apprehension, therefore, of disturbance to the public peace, from the free and gracious communication of a similar boon to British slaves at the present hour, is absurd in the extreme; and even the fear of its leading to a desertion of regular but moderate labour, or to a vagrant and dissolute life, or to a return to barbarism, is effectually dispelled by the example before us.

The regulations by which such results have been obviated in Hayti, are given above. We have only to gather wisdom from experience; and, with its lessons before us, it were fatuity to contend, that there exists a single well founded anticipation of evil to deter us from consummating, at an early period, that great and acknowledged act of national justice, the imparting of freedom to the slave; in other words, the conversion of our colonial bondmen into free labourers. We have now before us the letter of a gentleman, long resident in Jamaica, dated in Oct. 1830, and who has under his charge about 700 slaves, fully confirming this view of the subject. "I believe," he says, "the only effectual remedy for existing evils to be the entire emancipation of the slaves." "It may be objected, that such a scheme would infallibly fail, and that the negroes would wander through the country and become unsettled. I strongly doubt all this. They would have the same motives to work with the English labourer. They have wives, children, and aged parents. They would have every thing to attach them to their domicile, and to stimulate them to exertion." "They are not the semi barbarians so often represented by interested writers." "To allege that they are not ripe for such a change is perfectly absurd."

## II.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*At a Meeting of the Committee of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society, held at the Court-House, on Monday, the 28th February, 1831; Mr. Robert Jowitt, in the Chair.*

### RESOLVED,

1st. That this Committee retain unabated their desire for the extinction of Negro Slavery, continuing to regard the system as utterly inconsistent with the principles of religion and humanity; and as this object has never been espoused by them from party feelings, so no changes amongst the ministers of the crown, or the members of parliament, can lessen their anxiety for its accomplishment, or their firm determination to persevere with renewed efforts for its attainment.

2nd. That this Committee, and (they are persuaded) the public at large, would consider it a cause for deep and serious regret, if any pressure of other business should prevent a subject of such vital importance receiving a full and deliberate consideration and discussion in the present session of parliament.

3rd. That this Committee, remembering the avowal of attachment to this great cause, by all the members for this county, confidently expect that each of them will be found in his place in parliament, on the discussion of this question on the 29th proximo, in order that the united and strenuous support of the representation of the County of York, may be given to the cause of religion, justice, humanity, and sound policy.

4th. That these resolutions be advertised once in each of the Leeds papers, and that the Chairman be requested to transmit a copy to each of the members for the county, and to any other members of parliament whom he may think proper.

ROBERT JOWITT, *Chairman.*



